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PAPERS ON BOOKS
THEIR HISTORY AND ART

VOL. II

PARTS V–VIII

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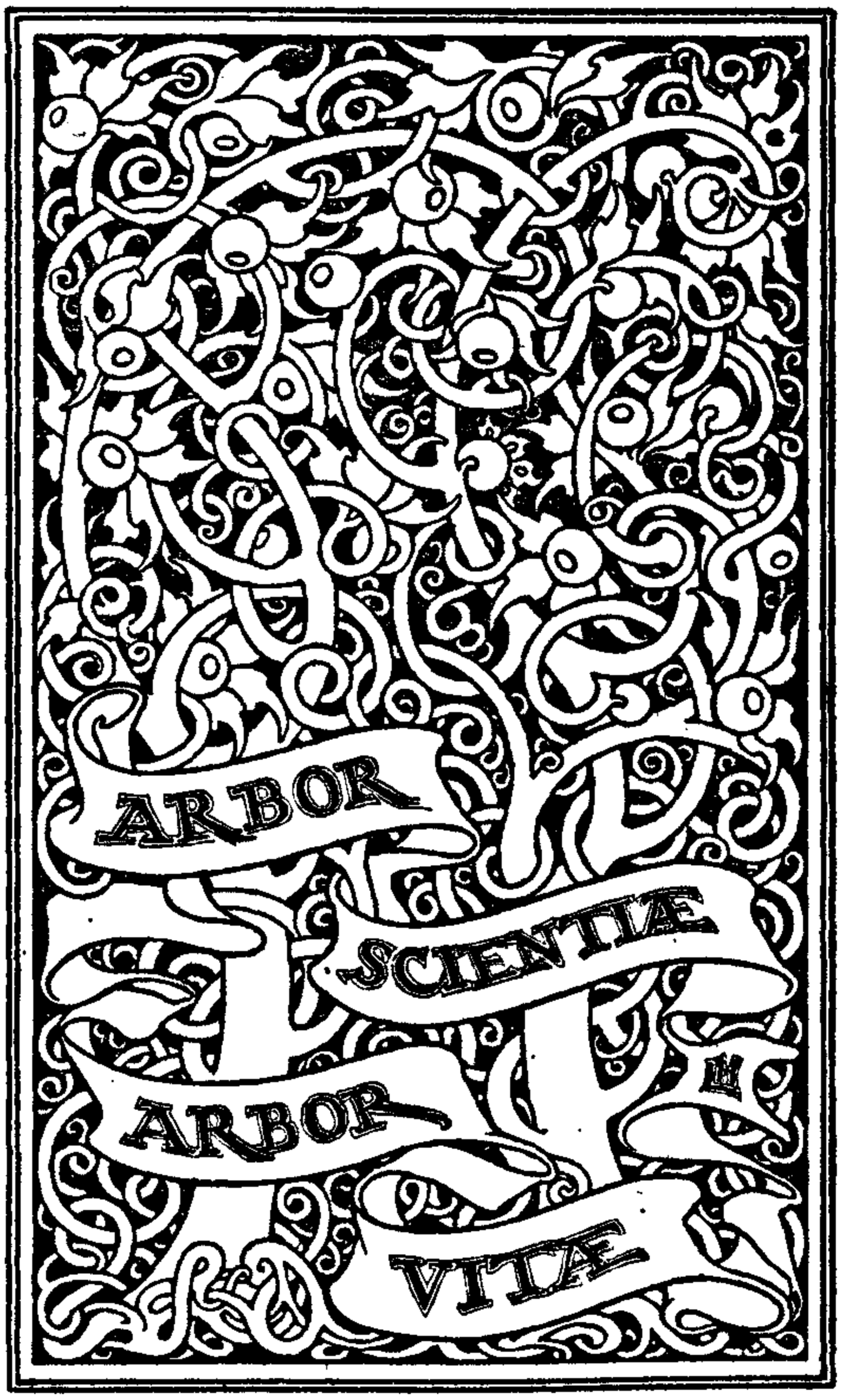

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ENGLISH ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

NO period of the history of illumination in England is of greater importance than the first half of the fourteenth century upon which we entered at the close of the last article. In those fifty years the art culminated, and the finest work was the production of that time. It is now that the drawing becomes free, and casts off the rigidity of the earlier period; there is more action and movement in the figures; and the decoration, though it has lost much of the refinement and exactness of the thirteenth century, has greater play and more invention in details.

But before proceeding with the detailed description of examples which are to illustrate the present article, we may briefly trace the growth of the decoration, as distinguished from the subject-drawing, of the fourteenth century and follow its course into the fifteenth, when purely English illumination died out. In this we shall have to consider the decoration of the miniature (by which term we here mean the actual picture, without accessories, such as the border in which it is framed), and the

decoration of the initial and border. Decoration could, of course, enter into, and form a part of, a miniature only in the times when the miniature was still regarded rather as an ornament for the book than as a work of art in itself, and before the knowledge of perspective and a proper understanding of landscape-painting raised it to the important artistic position which it attained in the second half of the fifteenth century. Such decoration naturally invaded and occupied the background, and in that position it played a very important part in the general effect. And it will be understood that what is here said of the miniature or independent picture also applies to the miniature which so often occupies the body of the initial letter.

My article on English Illumination from the twelfth to the commencement of the fourteenth century closed with a description of Queen Mary's Psalter, the most perfect manuscript of its kind. In the coloured facsimile, Plate 7 [23], which accompanied that article we have examples of different styles followed by the illuminators of the period in dealing with the decoration of the miniature. In the upper compartment the background is of burnished gold pounced or punctured with a hard point; that of the lower compartment is filled with diaper-work; and the initial is treated with a a combination of the two styles, the interior of the R being gilt, while the square upon which it is laid, as on a background, is diapered. Gilding and diapering form the chief methods of ornamentation in such positions in the fourteenth century, subject, however, to certain modifications. The gold is always brilliant, and is generally pounced in various patterns, sometimes very elaborately. It must, however, be understood that such ornamented gild-

ing is not confined to the period which we are discussing, for it extends back into the thirteenth century and continues in fashion even into the fifteenth century. Nor are we claiming the diaper for this time alone, for we have already seen it in full development in the thirteenth century, and it continues in use to a much later time. We are here only laying stress on the common employment of these two kinds of ornamentation either side by side or alternatively in manuscripts of the fourteenth century. With regard to the patterns of the diaper-work, there seems to have been no end to the invention which was exercised in elaborating new designs; and, of course, geometrical lines lend themselves to an interminable variety of combinations. No doubt the illuminators were conscious of the necessity of putting forth their strength on so conspicuous a feature as the background, and of introducing a full variety of patterns in order to guard against the danger of monotony. The best proof of their success is that we never tire of examining their work.

Gilding and diapering gradually gave way before the growth of the landscape; but we wonder at the slowness of that growth. We have seen the conventional trees and rough mounds which did duty for landscape scenery in the English manuscripts before the Norman Conquest. There was no advance on this primitive style in the succeeding centuries. In the thirteenth century a conventional tree or hillock is still considered enough to represent natural scenery; in the fourteenth century very little more progress is made, and the gilt or diapered background still fills the space which should be occupied by the distant view and the sky. It is not until the fifteenth century that the

landscape really makes progress; but our native English manuscripts fail us at this period, and we have to go to French and Flemish and Italian illuminations to learn the last stages of the struggle between the ornamental background and the landscape. Early in the century we may certainly find a picture of natural scenery only, without any conventional background; but more frequently the diaper or conventional background still holds some part of the field. And, in those instances where the landscape prevails, the drawing remains without perspective, and the artist crowds the scene with unproportioned details in his attempt to represent the distant view. It was only when the horizon was found, after the middle of the century, that the conventional background entirely disappeared. When the artist had once discovered the power of rendering nature in true perspective, the need for such adventitious aids as a gilt or diapered background no longer existed; the incongruity of applying such decoration became self-evident; and the miniature, emancipated from decoration, was treated in the hands of the skilled painters of the late fifteenth century as an artistic work.

No doubt this development of the miniature was also in some degree due to the expansion of literature, which gave a wider field for the exercise of the miniaturist's art. He was not now confined to religious service books, as he had been almost exclusively in the earlier centuries. Romances, translations from Greek and Latin authors, and original works of general literature, now came into vogue and invited a style of illustration altogether different from that which had been followed in manuscripts of a religious or liturgical character.

Thus, while the latter still demanded their share of attention and while the artist had still to satisfy the fashionable demand for sumptuous Books of Hours and others of a like nature, he could now give more rein to his imagination in the production of miniatures suitable for the new secular literature; and this liberty no doubt reacted in some degree on the conventional ideas which the practice of so many centuries had connected with the illumination of sacred works. Had the latter continued to form the only vehicles for the expression of the miniaturist's art, it is not improbable that the decorative side of his work would have still held its ground to the exclusion of landscape other than conventional. We may find an analogy to this in our modern feeling with regard to the stained-glass windows of our churches. The dim, religious light of our places of worship is not suited to our dwelling-houses and public buildings; and accordingly the designs on stained glass are almost always required for sacred purposes. Hence convention has been established, and will probably be maintained as long as Gothic architecture holds sway; and the artist reverts to mediæval examples for his inspiration. So rooted has this idea of reversion to the designs of the Middle Ages become, not only for the treatment of figures, but also for details of ornament and for accessories, that the introduction of a modern style in a church window offends the senses as being totally inappropriate even in a modern building.

The forms of decoration of the miniature which have just been described are not confined to England, but are common to the countries of North-Western Europe. The gilt background and the diaper are found in manuscripts of France and

Flanders, very similar in style to those of this country; differences in colouring and treatment, however, affording criteria for distinguishing the nationality of the several examples. In the decoration of the ornamental initial and border the divergence is far greater; and, in course of time, a style is developed which is peculiarly English. While in France there developed the lightly-sprinkled ivy-leaf border, which is one of the distinguishing marks of the early fifteenth century manuscripts of that country; and while the artists of the Low Countries, first following the same lines, afterwards gradually introduced natural objects, fruits, flowers, insects, etc., and in the end produced those richly-worked frame-borders which are so distinctive of Flemish book-decoration; in England there is a strange development from the conventional three-pointed leaf and simple buds into leaves and flowers which more resemble feathery scrolls than any growth in nature.

It will be remembered that the border takes its rise from the pendant of the initial; and so strongly had this principle of growth, if it may so be termed, been impressed on the mind of the mediæval artist, that we see the connection between the border and the parent initial still kept up even when the original small pendant had developed into a border surrounding the entire page, and when the artistic balance between the two members of decoration is overthrown. We have seen the pendant of the thirteenth century terminating in a bud, which, in the pendant of the fourteenth century, has burst into a leaf. After this the development of the border quickly receives a great impetus. In the case of ordinary initials, which are only minor decorations for ordinary pages, the pendant, it is

true, never grows to any very extended length, and usually envelops at most only a portion of the text, forming what is termed a partial border; but, wherever the artist desired to produce a handsomely-ornamented page, he carried the branches of the pendant entirely round the text, so as to form a complete frame for it; and, still further, as a common mode of writing the text was the arrangement of double columns, a separate branch was also carried between them. The full-grown border was, moreover, not infrequently further enlarged, in pages which the artist specially desired to signalise as of importance, in a form which altogether disguises the origin from the pendant. The slender branches are widened into a broad, solid frame, the several parts of which are internally divided into sections variously ornamented, or are filled with other designs; and yet the recollection of the origin of the frame is not lost, for shoots and sprays bearing conventional leaves and flowers are applied to its edges by way of further decoration. Nor even in this artificial stage of development of the branching border, is the connection between it and the parent initial always severed, for we still find many instances of the solid frame issuing from the extremities of the large ornamental letter, just as the primitive pendant sprang from the same points in the initial of earlier date. The solid frame-border had already developed as early as the first half of the fourteenth century, and became more conventional and artificial as time proceeded.

The more general form of border, however, is of simpler construction. Following in this respect the analogy of a natural growth, the extremities of the initial from whence the branches, or, to give them a better name, the stems are to issue are pro-

vided with a clustering mass of conventional foliage or a broad expanding blade or some such basis out of which the stems spring; and as they grow along the margin the latter throw out leaves and flowers, and are more or less embellished with backgrounds of colours and gold. When the top and bottom of the page is reached, and the border has to be carried along the upper and lower margins, a new starting-point is created by forming an ornamental corner-piece, as for example by interlacings and foliage, from whence a new stem springs, and the process is repeated at each point where a turn is made. From the conditions of space, the stems have little room to imitate nature in pliant movements, and soon fall into the straight lines of the margins. Late in the fourteenth century they become rigid, and are almost invariably formed of two narrow bars welded together, the one in colours and the other gilt, which serve as a frame to support the sprays of foliage and flowers and other decorations of the border. And it is at the same period when the foliage and flowers take that distinctive feathery form which has been referred to above, and which can be better understood from the specimens given in the plates than from any verbal description.

Having now followed the general course of development of the decoration of English manuscripts in the period covered by this article, we proceed to give examples of the art both of the draughtsman and the illuminator from some of the best manuscripts of the British Museum.

The first is presented as a pleasing specimen of the outline drawing of the first half of the fourteenth century; not so refined as the art of Queen Mary's Psalter, but still of a high order. It is selected

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from the Royal MS. 19 B. xv. This beautiful manuscript contains a French version of the Apocalypse, with commentary, written in England in the cursive style of hand which was used for charters and legal documents, and may be dated about the year 1330. It is illustrated throughout with a series of drawings by two different hands, the one being very inferior to the other. The best hand has produced a most charming set of miniatures, very simple in treatment, and generally very delicate in the drawing. The colouring of the details of the figures and general accessories is light, but the designs are brought out in relief by the stronger colours of the background. Two of these miniatures form the subjects of Plate 1. In the upper one the artist has produced, with singular simplicity of drawing, a beautiful figure of the mighty angel casting a stone 'like a great millstone' into the sea (Rev. xviii. 21). The figure is altogether in outline without colour, and the nimbus alone is gilt. The sea is indicated by waving bands, coloured alternately straw-yellow and glass-green; and the background is of a very deep blue, with a broad frame of vermilion. In the other picture we have the representation of Heaven, where the Apostle heard 'a great voice of much people' (Rev. xix. 1-4). Here again the worshipping figures and the surrounding clouds are left white and are thrown up in strong relief by the deep blue of the background. The symbols of the Evangelists in the four corners, modified representations of the 'four beasts' that 'fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne,' are likewise in white against a background of vermilion; and the quarter-circle bands which mark off their compartments are in green. God the Father, holding the Lamb in His right hand

and with His left hand placed upon the globe, is enthroned within a vesica; the robes are tinted russet, green, and violet; and the cruciform nimbus is vermilion and green. The broad band of the vesica is left white; the background within it is gilt, crossed with lattice-work in black lines; and the external corner-pieces are decorated with white leaves on a vermilion ground. The charm of these drawings lies altogether in their simplicity. There is a minimum of decoration, and the artist has relied only upon the clearness and firmness of his outlines to attain the desired effect.

The next example (Plate 2) is of quite a different character. It is chosen for the purpose of illustrating the development of the border in the early part of the fourteenth century. The volume from which it is selected is the Arundel MS. 83, the date of which can be pretty nearly ascertained. It contains the Psalter, with a calendar prefixed in the usual manner; but at the end a second calendar and a series of remarkable miniatures of scenes from the Life of Christ, etc., have been added. These additions were clearly not intended to be part of the original manuscript, but they are of the same period and are ornamented in the same style as the Psalter, and we are quite justified in treating them as contemporary. A note inserted in the second calendar (under 25th November) records the gift of the book, in 1339, by Robert de Lyle to his daughters, with remainder to the nuns of Chicksand Priory in Bedfordshire: 'Joe Robert de Lyle donay cest lyvere sus cest jour en lan nostre signour mil cccxxxix a ma fille Audere ove ma beneyssoun. Et apres soen deses a Alborou sa soer et issy de soer en soer taunk come ascune de eles vyvont. Et apres remeyne a touz jours a

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Confitebor dño nimis i
ore meo. Vbi dñe ex audi oran cionē me. Dectū
princi. amē. Sede a. amē.

Dixit dominus dño meo:
sede a dextris meis.
Donec ponam inimicos
tuos: scabellū pedū tuorū.
Virgam virtutis tue e
mittet dñs ex syon: dñare
in medio inimicorū tuorū.
Dectū principiū in die
virtutis tue in splendori
bus scōrū: ex utero ante lucife
rum genui te.
Iurauit dñs et non penite
bit eum: tues sacerdos in
eternū scdm ordinē melchise
Dominus a dextris dec.
tuis: confregit in die ire sue reges.
Iudicabit in nationibus
implebit ruinas: conquas
sabit capita in terra multorū.
De torrente in via bibit:
propterea exaltauit ca
pud.
Dectū principiū in die vir
tutis tue in splendoribus
scōrū ex utero ante luciferū
genui te. Redēptionē.
amē. Sede a dextris

les dames de Cheqesaundes. Escrit de ma meyn.' But the occurrence of the shields of England and France in the first border of the Psalter would lead us to infer that it was executed for the King or some member of the royal family.

The colour of the large D is vermilion heightened with white, and within its compass the two first Persons of the Trinity are enthroned under two architectural canopies, and are clad in robes tinted delicately with shades of blue, pink, vermilion, violet, and straw-yellow. The Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, is seen descending in the middle. The background is of bright gold, pounced. The letter is laid on a square of diapered patterns, which are worked on grounds of blue and lake alternately at the four corners. It will be seen that each of the two marginal extremities of the letter ends in a broad leaf encircled by the shoot on which it grows. These terminals, together with their broader backgrounds of gold and colour, form sufficient foundations on which to plant the stems for the border, which are seen to spring from a conventional foliated sheath and to throw out leaves in the progress of their growth upwards and downwards in the margin; and the whole design receives stability and breadth from a background of gold and colours which is shaped to the requirements of the stems. Coming to the corners of the page, fresh starting-points have to be devised, as explained above, and accordingly a broad foundation is again created for each by an interlaced knot or other ornament, produced from the stem itself, and then a new stem springs as before from its conventional sheath. And so the process is repeated at each point where a junction is required; and, for the sake of symmetry, also at the top of the page at the point

where the two columns of writing are divided, although no new stem springs thence as it does from the corresponding point in the lower margin. As in the decorative backing of the large initial, the colours in the border are almost entirely confined to blue and lake; and pounced gold is liberally employed, and particularly so at the corners.

A very pleasing feature in English decoration of this period is the introduction, among conventional flowers and foliage, of others drawn more closely after nature. A favourite flower thus treated is the daisy, which one may nearly always count upon to appear in an illuminated manuscript of the fourteenth century of English execution. In this Plate we have daisies, oak leaves and acorns, and hazel nuts simply drawn and coloured. This practice may be strictly against the canon forbidding the mingling of the natural with the conventional, but, notwithstanding, there is something refreshing in finding such simple objects breaking out, just as in the department of botany nature will sometimes assert herself by throwing out a shoot or leaf of the native strain from some plant of artificial cultivation.

One word may be said about the miniatures in this manuscript, although the limits necessarily imposed on the number of our illustrations do not allow of the reproduction of any of them. They form a very instructive series for the study of the miniaturist's method of work at this period. There is a full number of examples showing the variety which skill could produce in diapered backgrounds, and there are some notable specimens of elaborately patterned gold work; both of which styles of decoration have been referred to above as specially practised at this time. It is noticeable that a portion of

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Prolgus

Ysebius ieronimus
dominioni et roga
ciano suis in xpo
salutem. Quomodo
grecorum historias
magis intelligunt
qui athenas uide
runt. et tercium nir
gilij librum qui atro
ade per leuchathen
et acroceraunia ad
sycilliam. et inde ad
hostia tyberis naui
gauerunt: ita scam
scripturam lucidius intuebitur. qui uideam oculis contem
platus est. et antiquarum urbium memorias. locorumq;

the series is composed of a set of leaves, each of which is covered on both sides with a set of subjects, six on a page. The backgrounds are alternately in diaper and gold, but so disposed that a gilt background never lies immediately behind a gilt background on the other side of the leaf. Thus the artist avoided making the leaf too thick by overlaying it on both sides with gold, and guarded against injury to his work.

It is remarkable, though perhaps only accidental, that comparatively few illuminated manuscripts of the first rank have survived from the time of Edward the Third. The manuscript which has just been described belongs to quite the beginning of that reign, and has still the characteristics of the early years of the fourteenth century. The Louterell Psalter, a highly decorated volume which was executed before the year 1345, and which is described, with plates, in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi., is of a more advanced type; but it does not appear that any great stimulus was given to the art of illumination till the reign of Richard the Second, when we discover a school of painting which is remarkable for its fine colouring and richness of decoration.

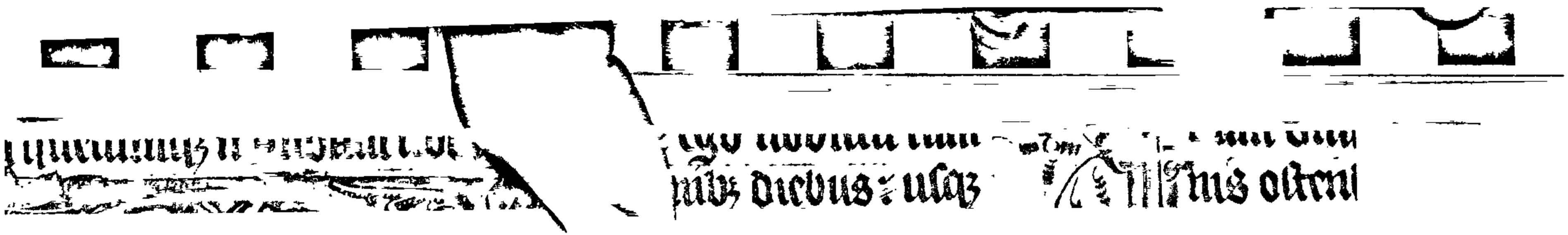
Accordingly our next examples take us to the end of the century, and we see what a change the course of time has effected. Plate 3 is reproduced from a remarkably handsome volume, a very large Bible in the Royal collection, numbered 1 E. ix., which measures as much as 24 by 17 inches. It is splendidly illuminated with miniature-initials and initials and borders, the beginning of every Book having one or more of such decorations; and the workmanship is the best of its kind. The plate reproduces the initial which adorns St.

Jerome's prologue to the First Book of Chronicles, together with a small portion of the border which proceeds from it. The saint, dressed in a white under-robe, over which is a sleeveless upper-robe delicately coloured with lake, and wearing a broad hat brightly coloured with vermilion, is seated at a book-case (in which, in passing, we may notice the usual disposal of the volumes on their sides), and is apparently putting away his books. The background is worked in small square patterns of gold, red, or white on deep blue. The finished modelling of the features of the saint's face and the care with which the flesh tints have been applied are characteristic of English work of this period, and stand in strong contrast to the light strokes which were deemed sufficient to indicate the features of the human face in the drawings of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This careful treatment is probably quite a native development; the method of French miniatures in this respect is altogether different; and it is to France rather than elsewhere that we should look for the source of foreign influence in English art at this time. We have, however, observed a very similar treatment in the contemporary miniatures of the Netherlands which have come under our notice, and we are inclined to see in our English work of this period a connection with the style of painting which afterwards, in the course of the second half of the fifteenth century, distinguished the Flemish school, so famous for the softness and depth of its colouring, from the flat and hard style affected by the miniaturists of France.

The letter itself is of vermilion, worked up in a floral pattern which fills the breadth of the bow, and it is set in gold with an edging of blue. And

omnibꝫ diebus: usqꝫ
ad cõsũmacionẽ scli.
Explicit euuangeliũ
scdm̃ matheũ. Iuci
prologus in euuageli
um secundũ marcum.
Petrus apls scdm̃ fi
dem historie cum clau
dij temporibus de ori
entis partibus adue
niens. rome xp̃m predi
care cepisset. ita ser
mo eius vniuersoꝝ mentes placido illustrauit aduentu. ut

his ostend
in dn̄o. et
cere. atqꝫ
derat: in
et a bapt
uit natiu
set totus
temptaci
nisterium
ligendum
facte rei
negaret.
ut sacerdo



in this specimen we have an instance of the simpler border described above in which the main stems are formed of two combined narrow bars, the one gilt and the other coloured, and of the peculiar shape which the conventional foliage of English decoration had now assumed. The clustering of leaves at the points from whence the border-stems emerge is here in full force; blue, red, and lake, relieved with white, being the leading colours. Unfortunately the page of the manuscript is too large to be brought, even on a reduced scale, within the scope of a plate. We can only conclude our remarks on the border by asking the reader to repeat in imagination at the four corners of the page the round-flower ornament shown in this plate, and to take, as a sample of the twin stem which forms the square frame-work of the border, the small section here presented. Nor must we pass by in silence the very pretty ornamental spray which issues from the initial, with its delicate little flowers. It is not uncommon to meet examples of this fine work in company with more heavily laden borders.

A still better idea of the decoration of this manuscript, as applied to the border and ornamental-initial (to be distinguished from the miniature-initial of the last plate), may be gained from the second specimen which we give in Plate 4. Here the lower section of a column is reproduced, which shows a remarkably well designed initial P, standing at the head of the prologue to the Gospel of St. Mark, together with a portion of the lower line of the border and a portion of the stem which is carried between the columns. The letter itself is painted in sections of blue and lake, worked up with white, and is filled with interlaced branches of

conventional foliage, and the whole is laid upon a square background of burnished gold. In the details of the scrolls and of the border we have blue, lake, and vermilion as the leading colours, with the usual proportion of gold; and here the various forms of the foliage may be studied: the curious feather-like curling leaf, the spoon-shaped leaf with its end well turned back, and, though less common, the bell-shaped flower—all of which, together with others not here represented, are met with as usual details of decoration in the English manuscripts of the time.

It is to be regretted that we know nothing of the history of this handsome volume, beyond the fact that it formed part of the library of the kings of England; and still more so, for our present purpose, that there is no record of the names of the artists employed on its embellishment. Even at this comparatively advanced time the practice of the artists of the earlier centuries not to attach their names to their works was still observed, and there are few exceptions. A notable one occurs, however, in the case of an English illuminator of this period who bore the name of John Siferwas, and to whom we owe a Lectionary (Harley MS. 7026) now in the British Museum, which he executed for John, Lord Lovel of Tichmersh, who died in the year 1408, and also a still more important manuscript, the Sherborne Missal, now owned by the Duke of Northumberland.

Of a somewhat later date than the manuscript Bible which has just been laid under contribution is the volume which supplies the next illustration. It also belongs to the Royal collection, numbered 2 A. xviii., and contains the Hours of the Virgin and the Psalter in Latin. The manuscript is orna-

plena dom:
dñe gratia

mented throughout with illuminated initials and borders; and at the beginning is a series of miniatures of saints and the very beautiful Annunciation which is here given (Plate 5) in coloured facsimile. It was executed early in the fifteenth century, as is evident both from the general style of illumination and from the costume of the two kneeling figures in the plate, the high-standing collar and long sleeves being typical of the dress of the reign of Henry the Fourth. These two figures, so refined in their treatment and adding so much charm to the miniature, are no doubt portraits of the husband and wife for one of whom the manuscript was executed, and we may almost assume that they were members of the family of Grandison, for in the calendar and fly-leaves entries of several obits of persons of that family have been added. Besides these entries, there are others of a later date which record births, marriages, and deaths, with other events, in the families of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth; whence it appears most probable that the volume belonged at this later time to some person attached to the Court of the Tudor kings.

The miniature of the Annunciation has been selected for reproduction in colours as one of the best examples of this class of English work that has survived. The drawing is very delicate and graceful, and the colouring soft and refined. The architectural setting is in keeping with the fashion of the day. We see the same style followed in French illumination, some of the best examples being found in the Book of Hours which was executed in France for the Regent John Duke of Bedford, and which is now one of the greatest treasures of the British Museum. But to have

grafted on the solid stone work of the architectural canopy the meagre sprays of conventional leaves and flowers is a fault in composition which is probably due to a division of labour. The miniaturist who painted the figures, and no doubt also the canopy, would hardly have weakened the effect of his production by such extraneous additions. The illuminator who decorated the text with initials and borders surely added these sprays to fill up the blank spaces of the margins; and the same course has been followed with the other miniatures of the series. The modelling of the features of both the Virgin and the Angel Gabriel is here again as carefully treated as that in the miniature of St. Jerome described above, with a very pleasing result. Nor is there any shortcoming in the finish of the two kneeling figures; both are delicately drawn and coloured, and combine harmoniously with the miniature.[1]

A few details of a minute character in this plate may escape observation unless they are pointed out. Such details not only prove the utmost pains that the mediæval painter took to give the most complete finish to his work, but also suggest the very close examination which such works must have received from the eyes of our forefathers. Modern art has trained us to use our eyes in such a different way, to look so much more at general effect than at detail, that we have almost lost the faculty of taking into view the minute points which delighted the painter of the Middle Ages. In the upper left-hand corner in a cloud of blue appears God the Father with accompanying angels, and from Him

[1] Compare the painting of the faces in this miniature with that of the portrait of Richard the Second in the Diptych at Wilton House, published by the Arundel Society and described by Sir George Scharf, 1882.

proceed delicate rays, at the extreme end of which the Holy Spirit, represented by the smallest possible white dove, hovers just above the Virgin's forehead. In the border of the nimbus round the Virgin's head is the inscription: 'Sancta [Mar]ia virgo, intercede pro [nobis]'; and round the Angel's head may be read: 'Sancte Gabriel, ora [pro nobis]'; along the edge of the canopy is: 'Maria, plena gracie, mater misericordie'; the open book has: 'Ecce ancilla domini, fiat michi secundum [verbum tuum]' (Luke i. 38); and, lastly, on the green cloth of the table is embroidered: 'Omnia levia sunt amanti: Si quis amat non laborat,' perhaps the expression of the artist's happiness in his work—a labour of love. But there is something more. The last inscription is followed by two words, 'de daer,' which may be only random letters to fill the line. It may, however, be suggested, although with much hesitation, that they should be reversed and that they then disclose the name of the artist, 'Ed. Read.'

But all this promise of the English school of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was unfortunately unfulfilled. The long wars with France and the domestic convulsions of the War of the Roses seem to have extinguished the rising flame. The style which we have seen in such beauty in our last two examples gives place to one which is altogether French, so much so indeed that, but for internal indications of English origin, the manuscripts which are decorated in this new manner might, in many instances, pass for the productions of French artists. A well-known example is the great volume of romances of chivalry which John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, presented to Margaret of Anjou on her marriage with Henry the Sixth in 1445. The miniatures are of the hard and meagre type

which is often so conspicuous in the French school of the fifteenth century, and the decoration is borrowed from the same source. The favour for this foreign style makes itself evident in the Books of Hours which were so much in demand at this time; and, when it begins to die out, there is no return to a native style, but the latter part of the century is marked by the predominating influence of the Flemish school. Whatever of purely English miniature painting exists at all of a later date than the early part of the fifteenth century is only in a rather coarse and rustic form: a proof that native art of this character received little encouragement. It is needless to speculate as to the development which it might have received under more kindly conditions; we can only say that in the productions of English artists, such as those which have been placed before us, there is evidence of powers which might have successfully competed with the best work of the continental schools of Western Europe in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

In the department, however, of the more mechanical work of the decorative border we still have instances of development in the course of the fifteenth century; and we place before the reader in Plate 6 the reproduction of a very fine specimen, executed before the year 1446. The volume from which it is obtained is the Arundel MS. 109, a Missal which was given to the Church of Saint Laurence in the Old Jewry by William Melreth, alderman of London, who died in that year. In this border we have a combination of the broad frame with the narrow stem design; and the more florid character of the details of the foliage, as compared with that of fifty years earlier, marks a

In nigilia sancti andree apli. offic
Omnis
tuis man
galiter in
dit duos
tis pmit
andream
wcatur de
nitur post me faciam vos fieri pisca
tores hominū. ps. Cū inuocarem glo
riam de oratio manuū eius annūcia
Oblatum. Hostias
Omps tuis. ut sanctis an
dreas apostolus tuum pro nobis im
ploret auxiliū: ut a nris manib
absolui a cunctis ⁊ qualibz cria
mur. Per. Si hec nigilia anni ad
uentum domini contigit. fiat mē
de nīb sanctorum et sūmo. si
Deus qui cuncta nrā. Or
nos tractor mīe. nior sa
cramenti amp sūmi conabis na
talitias ptim: eorum nos tribue
mimus adimuan. Per dominū.
Epl. Benedicto domino sup cap.
Gr Omnis hono. Si hec nigil in
dominica. agitur. de vnū. Ala. ⁊
oī aplor. et missa dī in aplo.
Et hor in omīb missis ptis de
nig. que in dominicas agunt
obsmet. nisi in nig natal dñi.
In illo tpe Sanctū Johannē.
pore: Stabat iohannes: et ex
discipulis eius duo. Et intuiens
ihm ambulantē: dicit. Ecce ag
nus dei. Et audierūt eum duo
discipuli loquentē: et secuti sūt
ihm. Conuersus aut ⁊ uidit eos
eos sequentes se: dicit eis. Quid
quaritis: Qui dixerunt ei. Rabi
quod dicitur magister. Vbi ha
bitas: Dicit eis. Venite et uidete.
Venerunt et uiderunt ubi manet
et: et apud eum manserunt die
illo. Hora aut erat quasi de
cima. Erat aut andreas frater si
monis petri: unus ex duobus
qui audierant ab iohanne. ⁊ se
cuti fuerant eum. Inuenit hic p
mū fratrē suum symonē: et di
cit ei. Inuenimus messiam: qđ
est interpretatū xps. Et adduxit
eum ad ihm. Intuitus aut
eum ihs: dixit. Tu es symon
filius iohanna: tu vocaberis ce
phas. quod interpretat petrus. In
crastinū aut voluit exire in ga
lileam: et inuenit philippū. Et
dicit ei ihs. Sequere me. Erat
aut philippus a bethsaida: ciui
tas andree et petri. Inuenit phi
lippus nathanaelem: et dicit ei.
Quem scripsit moyses in lege et
prophete: inuenimus ihm filiū
ioseph a nazareth. Et dixit ei na
thanael. A nazareth potest ali
quid boni esse: Dicit ei philippus.
Veni et uide. Vidit ihs natha
nahel uenientē ad se: et dicit de
eo. Ecce israelita: in quo dolus non
est. Et dicit ei nathanael. Vnde
me nosti: Respondit ihs: ⁊ dixit
ei. Priusq̄ te philippus vocaret
cum esses sub fico: vidi te. Respō
dit ei nathanael: et ait. Rabi: tu
es filius dei. tu es rex israel. Re
spondit ihs: et dixit ei. Quia di
xi tibi vidi te sub fico: credis: maius

natural development. The principle of construction, however, still remains. Still the initial is the source and starting-point of the frame of the border; and we still have the massed foliage appended to the marginal extremities of the letter to form a sufficient foundation. The full development of curling, feather-like foliage is to be seen in the four corner circles, here forming in each instance the casing-leaves of a kind of pomegranate or nondescript conventional fruit. The narrow stems, as in the earlier examples, are still formed of two members joined together, the one in colours, the other gilt; blue, vermilion, lake, and green being employed in their decoration. The three broad sides of the frame are divided into compartments enclosing feather scrolls twined round rods; the colours used being green, grey-blue, vermilion, lake, and rose, and burnished gold being applied at the edges and largely at the corner-joints and middle sections. The same colours and gold are repeated in the conventional foliage. It is indeed a very handsome and effective piece of work, as a decorative page; but the design is poor as compared with those of the early part of the century, and the colouring cannot stand by the side of the rich and glowing hues of that promising period of our native school of illumination.

In the three articles which have now been contributed to these pages on the subject of English Illuminated Manuscripts the rise and growth of the art of book-decoration in this country have been briefly traced. We have seen that from the earliest times there was no lack of either mechanical or artistic skill. The wonderful decoration of the Irish school was practised successfully in the eighth century; and the freehand drawing of our artists

under the Anglo-Saxon kings was incomparably superior to the dead copies from Byzantine models which were in favour abroad. The artistic instinct was not destroyed, but rather strengthened, by the incoming of Norman influence; and of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there is abundant material to show that English book-decoration was then at least equal to that of neighbouring countries. For our art of the early fourteenth century we claim a still higher position, and contend that no other nation could at that time produce such graceful drawing. Certainly inferior to this high standard of drawing was the work of the latter part of that century; but still, as we have seen, in the miniatures and decorations of this time we have examples of a rising school of painting which bid fair to attain to a high standard of excellence, and which only failed from political causes.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

ENGLISH PROVINCIAL PRESSES, 1478-1556

I.—Oxford, '1468' to 1486

ALTHOUGH the date M. cccc. lxviij, plainly borne in the colophon of all the known copies of the little Oxford-printed *Exposicio sancti Jeronimi in simbolo apostolorum*, seems to be generally regarded as an error for 1478, the rejection of the earlier year as that of the introduction of the art of printing into this country is not altogether disappointing, because such rejection goes to substantiate the claim long since put forth on behalf of William Caxton, himself an Englishman, to have been the earliest printer in England. After having previously printed, or helped to print, at Bruges about 1473-74, his own translation, the *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troyes*, Caxton set up his press at Westminster about 1476-77, and remained actively at work as a translator and printer to 'the laste daye of hys lyff,' which the late Mr. Blades, his special biographer, places towards the close of the year 1491.

As the scope of the present paper is to be confined to provincial printing, any further mention of the art as practised in Westminster, Southwark, or London, will be only incidental. Moreover, as Oxford has its own specialist in Mr. Madan, little need be said here of its fifteenth century printing-office which continued at work with fair activity till 1486. The first three Oxford books are printed

with types almost certainly of Cologne origin, and their anonymous printer is perhaps identical with Theodoric Rood of Cologne. Rood's name we get in the *Alexander de Ales* of 1481, and in partnership with Thomas Hunt, an Englishman, in the *Phalaris* of 1485.

The following is a list of the books known to have issued from this early Oxford press :—

'1468.' Rufinus.—Exposicio in simbolo apostolorum.
1479. Aristotle.—Textus ethicorum per L. Aretinum translatus.
1479. Ægidius.—De originali peccato.
[*c.* 1480]. Cicero.—Oratio pro Milone. [Only 8 leaves known.]
[*c.* 1481]. Latin Grammar in English. [Only two leaves known.]
1481. Alexander de Ales.—Expositio super tres libros Aristotelis de anima. [Two issues.] [With Rood's name.]
1482. John Lattebury.—Exposicio trenorum Jheremie. [Two issues.]
1483-85? John Anwykyll.—Compendium totius grammaticæ [followed by] Vulgaria quedam abs Terencio. [Two editions.]
„ Richard Rolle.—Explanationes super lectiones beati Job.
„ W. Lyndewoode.—Constitutiones provinciales.
„ Augustinus.—Excitacio fidelis anime ad elemosinam faciendam.
„ R. Swyneshede.—Insolubilia.
1485. Phalaris.—Epistolæ. [Rood and Hunt's names.]
[*c.* 1485]. Alex. Gallus.—Doctrinale. [Only 4 leaves known.]
1486. John Mirk.—Liber festialis.

II.—St. Albans, 1480 to 1486

In 1480 we find the Schoolmaster-printer of St. Albans at work. His earliest dated production is a Latin treatise in quarto, *Opus Rhetorice facultatis*, compiled at Cambridge, 6th July 1478, the author of which is styled 'frater Laurencius Guilelmi de Saona ordinis minorum sacræ paginæ professor.' Seven other fifteenth century St. Albans books are

extant, the latest in date being a collection of treatises on Hawking, Hunting, Coat-armour, and Blazing of arms, generally known and reprinted as the *Book of St. Albans*, and often attributed to Juliana Barnes, whose name only appears in connection with the treatise on Hunting. This book is stated at the end to have been 'translatyt and compylyt togedyr at Seynt albons' in 1486. For the only information we have of the printer of these books we are indebted to Wynkyn de Worde, who, in his 1497 edition of the *Chronicle of England*, tells us that it was 'compiled in a booke / and also enprynted by one somtyme scole mayster of saynt Albons.' The type used in printing the *Saona* in 1480 bears so remarkable a likeness to a fount used by Caxton about the same time, and called by Mr. Blades type 2*, that there may well have been some connection between the two men, and why, indeed, may not the Schoolmaster have learned his art in Caxton's office? As regards the cause of the cessation of printing at St. Albans after 1486 we have no direct evidence; but it is curious to notice that the Oxford press ceased at the same time. Perhaps both may have failed on commercial grounds, or the despotic spirit of the Tudor dynasty may have thus early made itself felt.

The following are the eight known issues from the St. Albans Press:—

1. Augustinus Dathus. Elegancie. 4to. S.A.
2. Laurentius de Saona. Rhetorica nova. 4to. 1480.
3. Albertus. Questiones de modo significandi. 4to. 1480.
4. Joannes Canonicus. Questiones super Physica Aristotelis. Fol. 1481.
5. Exempla sacre scripture. 4to. 1481.
6. Antonius Andreæ. Super Logica Aristotelis. 4to. 1482.
7. Chronicles of England. Fol. 1483.
8. The Boke of St. Albans. Fol. 1486.

III.—York, 1509 to 1516

The only remaining claim made for the establishment of a Provincial printing-office in England before the close of the fifteenth century is that put forward by the late Mr. Robert Davies in his *Memoirs of the York Press.*

Frederick Freez was admitted to the freedom of the city of York, as a bookbinder and stationer in 1497, and he is described as a 'buke prynter' in 1511, when he was involved in a lawsuit concerning the will of his brother Gerard, who was also engaged in the book trade as a publisher, but not as a printer. Two service-books were printed for Gerard at Rouen in 1507, entitled *Expositio Hymnorum* and *Expositio Sequentiarum*, a copy of each of which is in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.

No specimen of Frederick Freez's printing is known to exist, and even if he were a 'buke prynter' in 1511, that is no proof that he was so in 1497.

Hugo Goez, whose father is said to have been Matthias Van der Goez, a printer of Antwerp, is the earliest York printer of whom we have really reliable evidence. He printed in the street called Steengate, a *Directorium Sacerdotum*, dated in the colophon, Feb. 18, 1509. A copy of this is in the library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and another imperfect one in the Chapter Library at York. Goez printed also two school-books, both undated, a *Donatus minor* and an *Accidence*, copies of which appear to have been in the possession of Christopher Hildyard of York in 1667, but their present place of abode is not known. Mr. E. G. Duff, in his work on *Early Printed Books*, quotes, from Bagford's notes in the British Museum, evidence of Goez being in partnership in London, near Charing

Cross, with one Henry Watson, but no date is given. Ames, in his *Typographical Antiquities*, also mentions a broadside, being a wooden cut of a man on horseback, with a spear in his right hand, and a shield with the arms of France in his left, 'Enprynted at Beverlay in the Hyegate by me Hewe Goes,' with his mark or rebus of a great H and a goose.

In 1516 Ursyn Milner, printer, became a freeman of the city of York. Only two books printed by him are on record, a *Festum visitationis beate Marie virginis*, undated, but printed when Milner was resident in St. Peter's Churchyard, and a Latin syntax by Robert Whitinton, printed in Blake strete, December 20, 1516, and entitled *Editio de consinitate grammaticæs et Constructione nouiter impressa*, a copy of which is in the British Museum. It appears that in 1511 Milner was living in the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey, and was then thirty years of age.

After Milner we know of nothing printed in the city of York until well into the seventeenth century; but John Gaschet, a stationer, published from 1516 to 1533 several Service-books after the use of York. He was not, however, himself a printer, and his books were executed for him, some at Rouen and others at Paris. In the early part of the time mentioned he had a business also in Hereford, and perhaps came from that city to York.

1*b*.—Oxford, 1517 to 1519

After a silence of thirty-one years we again find a press at work in Oxford. Its productions, however, so far as they have survived, are mostly small quarto tracts of a few leaves only, and more rarely to be met with than some of those of the earlier

period. They bear the University arms, with the motto, 'Veritas liberabit, Bonitas regnabit,' supported by an angel on either side.

Only seven issues from this press have at present been discovered :—

1. Walter Burley. Tractatus expositorius super libros posteriorum Arestotilis. Dec. 4, 1517.
2. Jo. Dedicus. Questiones moralissime super libros ethicorum. May 25, 1518.
3. Compendium questionum de luce et lumine. June 5, 1518.
4. Walter Burley. Tractatus perbreuis de materia et forma. June 7, 1518.
5. Robert Whittinton. De heteroclitis nominibus. June 27, 1518.
6. Jasper Laet. Prenostica. (1518.)
7. Compotus manualis ad usum Oxoniensium. Feb. 5, 1519.

Copies of Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5 are in the Bodleian Library; No. 2 in Jesus Coll., Oxford, and Nos. 6 and 7 in the University Library, Cambridge. The first is printed anonymously, doubtless by John Scolar, the seventh by Charles Kyrfoth, while the others bear the name of John Scolar, who dwelt 'in viculo diui Joannis baptiste.'

After 1519 no further printing is known at Oxford till 1585.

IV.—Cambridge, 1521-22

The year 1521 brings us to the short-lived first Cambridge printing-press of John Siberch, from which, during this and the succeeding year, nine books are known to have issued. A facsimile of the earliest of these, H. Bullock's oration addressed to Cardinal Wolsey, was printed in 1886, with an excellent bibliography by the late Mr. Bradshaw, of the eight Cambridge books then known. Since then two leaves of an edition of William Lily's *De octo orationis partium constructione* have been discovered in the library of Westminster Abbey. As

Mr. Bradshaw's bibliography so fully describes the eight books known to him, with the whereabouts of each particular copy, it will suffice here to give their titles shortly in order of issue :—

1. Henricus Bullocus. Oratio. After Feb. 13, 1520-21.
2. Augustinus. De miseria sermo, etc., 1521.
3. Lucian. Περὶ διψάδων. After June 4, 1521.
4. Balduinus. Sermo de altaris sacramento, 1521.
5. Erasmus. De conscribendis epistolis. After Oct. 22, 1521.
6. Galen. De temperamentis libri tres. After Sept. 5, 1521.
7. Joannes [Fisher] Roffensis episcopus. Contio. 1521-22.
8. Papyrius Geminus. Hermathena. Dec. 8, 1522.
9. W. Lily. De octo orationis partium constructione.

We have no specimen of Siberch's printing after 1522, and nothing further is known of him except that he is probably the bookseller described as an old friend by Erasmus in writing to Robert Aldrich, of Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Carlisle. This letter is dated from Basle on Christmas Day, 1525, and contains the message :—'Saluta mihi ueteres sodales, Phaunum, Omfridum, Vachanum, Gerardum, Nicolaum et Ioannem Siburgum bibliopolas.'

V.—Tavistock, 1525 and 1534

In 1525 we find a press at work in the monastery of Tavistock, from which issued :—

> The Boke of comfort, called in laten Boetius de Consolatione philosophie. Translated in to englesse tonge. . . . Enprented in the exempt monastery of Tauestock in Denshyre. By me Dan Thomas Rychard, monke of the sayd Monastery. To the instant desyre of the ryght worshypful esquyer Mayster Robert Langdon. Anno d'. MD xxv. Deo Gracias.

From the first letters of certain lines at the end of this book, we learn the names and surnames of the translator and his patroness, Elisabeth Berkeley, and Johannes Waltwnem.

Two imperfect copies of this rare book are in the Bodleian Library, and a copy, wanting leaf R 6 and the last leaf (R 8, probably blank), is in the library of Exeter College, Oxford. The John Rylands Library also possesses a copy.

Exeter College Library likewise contains a book commencing thus :—

> Here foloyth the confirmation of the Charter perteynynge to all the tynners wythyn the coũty of deuonshyre / wyth there statutes also made at crockeryntorre by the hole assẽt and cõsent of al the sayd tynners. yn the yere of the reygne of our souerayne Lord Kynge Henry ye viij. the secũd yere.

The colophon reads as follows :—

> ¶ Here endyth the statutes of the stannary Imprented yn Tauystoke y^e^ / xx. day of August the yere of the reygne off our soueryne Lord Kynge Henry y^e^. viij. the. xxvj. yere.

This gives 1534 as the date of printing, and, although nine years later, it is undoubtedly from the same press as the *Boethius*. No other production of this press is now known to exist; but Herbert, quoting from Hearne, mentions *The Long Grammar* as having been printed at Tavistock.

VI.—Abingdon, 1528

In 1528 John Scolar, probably identical with the Oxford printer of 1518, is found to have printed in the neighbouring Abbey of Abingdon a Breviary for the use of the monks of that house. The colophon reads thus: *Istud portiferium fuit impressum per Ioannem Scholarem ī monasterio beate marie virginis Abẽdonensi. Anno incarnationis dñice Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo octauo. Et Thome Rowlonde abb̃atis septimo decimo.* A second colophon to the Psalter division of the book

runs, *Psalteriuz cum hymnis secundum morem et consuetudinem nigrorum monachorum Abendonensis monasterij explicit. Anno salutifere natiuitatis domini. M. D. vicesimo octauo pridie idus septembris.* The only known copy is at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

III*b*.—St. Albans, 1534 to 1538

The year 1534 brings a claim to a second spell of printing at St. Albans. In that year appeared a book in quarto entitled the *Lyfe and passion of Seint Albon prothomartyr of Englande, and also the lyfe and passion of Saint Amphabel* | . . . *translated out of french* . . . *and laten* . . . *by John Lydgate* | *and now lately put in print at request of Robert Catton* | *abbot of thexempte monasterye of saynt Albon* . . . M. D. xxx. iiii. To this second St. Albans press are also attributed:—

2. The cõfutacyon of the fyrst parte of Frythes boke . . . put forth by John Gwynneth clerke. M. ccccc. xxxvi. 8vo.
3. An introduction for to lerne to reken with the pen, and with the counters, after the true cast of arismetyke, or awgrym, in hole nombers, and also in broken; newly corrected . . . 1536. Imprinted in the yere of our lorde, 1537. 8vo.
4. A Godly disputation betweene Justus and Peccator, and Senex and Juuenis: very expedient for euery man to read. Compiled by the holy man Carthusianus Dionisius, and lately translated into English for the furtherance of them in vertue that are not learned in Latin. Imprinted at St. Albans by me Jo. Hereford, for M. Richard Steuenage. [1538.] 8vo.
5. The rule of an honest life, written by the holy man Martine, bishop of Dumience, unto king Mito, king of Galitia in Spain: whereunto is added, the enchiridion of a spiritual life. 8vo. (Maunsell, p. 93, adds 'Printed at Saint Albons 1538.')
6. An epistle against the enemyes of poore people. Imprynted at S. Albons by me Joẽs Herford, for M. Rychard Steuenage. 1538. 8vo.

A copy of the *Lyfe of Seint Albon* is in the British Museum, and another (imperfect) in the Bodleian. It bears no printer's name or place of printing, and has no device; but is usually attributed to Herford's St. Albans press.

Of No. 2, a copy is in the British Museum. It bears the R. S. device of Richard Stevenage; but not, as one might suppose from the engraving in Herbert's Ames, p. 1430, Herford's name or the place of printing.

According to Ames, a copy of No. 3 was, in 1749, in the possession of W. Jones, Esq. A fragment, containing the R. S. device, is in the Bagford collection, Harl. 5919.

The titles of Nos. 4, 5, and 6 are quoted from Herbert's Ames; but they occur in shorter form in Maunsell's 1595 catalogue.

Herford is found printing in London from 1544 to 1548, soon after which he died, for we find his widow printing *Augustine of Predestination* in 1550.[1]

VII.—Bristol, 1546

In the Rev. S. Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, published in 1823, vol. ii. p. 228, is an extract from certain MS. Calendars to the effect that 'In the year 1546 . . . a press for printing was set up in the castle, which is used dayly to the honour of God.'

No book or tract, however, bearing a Bristol imprint approaching this date is known to exist.

[1] *P.S.*—In the library of the Marquess of Bute, at Cardiff Castle, is a Breviary of St. Albans use, without title, but apparently complete. Having only lately heard of its existence, I have not been able to examine it, and can give no personal opinion as to its date or place of printing, but his Lordship's librarian, Mr. J. G. Godwin, thinks it was printed at the Abbey about 1526.

VIII.—Ipswich, 1547-48

On quite insufficient grounds Ipswich has been credited with a printing-press in 1534. In Heber's Sale Catalogue, 1834, Part 1. No. 3809, is an edition of the *Historia Evangelica* of Juvencus, 'Veniunt [*sic*] Gypsvici per Reginaldum Oliverium, 1534.' This was purchased by Thorpe, the bookseller, but what has become of it I do not know. That R. Oliver sold books at Ipswich in 1534 does not prove that he printed them, and there is very good reason for supposing that the *Juvencus* in question was printed at Antwerp and Oliver's name added in whatever number of copies he may have taken, or his name may have been substituted for that of the printer. In the Bodleian Library is a 12mo edition bearing in the colophon, 'Antuerpiæ, typis Joannis Graphei, An. M.D. XXXIIII.' This is the identical printer, who, in the same year, produced an edition of the *Rudimenta Grammatices*, which in 1528 had been prescribed by Cardinal Wolsey for use in the school he had founded at Ipswich.

In 1548 we find three printers at work in Ipswich, the earliest of whom, Anthony Scoloker, seems to have been settled there in 1547, coming perhaps from Germany. He was a translator from Dutch, German, and French, as well as an editor and printer. His earliest known production was, according to Herbert—

> 1. The iust reckenyng, or accompt of the whole nomber of yeares, from the beginnynge of the world, vnto this presente yere of 1547. Translated out of Germaine tonge by Anthony Scoloker, the 6 daye of July 1547.

During the early part of the next year he printed

at Ipswich, 'in S. Nycholas Parryshe,' three translations by 'Master Richarde Argentyne, Doctour in Physyck'—

2. A ryght notable sermon made by Doctor Martyn Luther vppon the twenteth Chapter of Johan of absolution and the true vse of the keyes. [Dedicated to Lord Wentworth.]
3. Certeyne Preceptes gathered by Hulrichus Zuinglius declaring howe the ingenious youth ought to be instructed and brought vnto Christ. [Dedicated to Master Edward Grymeston.]
4. Sermons [six] of the ryght famous ād excellent clerke Master Bernardine Ochine . . . of Siena in Italy nowe also an exyle in this lyfe for the faythfull testimony of Jesus Christ. [Dedicated to the Protector Somerset.]

Copies of the last three are in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, and are dated respectively by the translator from Ipswich, Jan. 30, Jan. 28, and Feb. 13, 1548. Copies of Nos. 3 and 4 are also in the University Library, Cambridge.

A little later in the year Scoloker removed to London, where he printed in the Savoy rents, without Temple Bar, and subsequently, in association with William Seres, appears as 'dwellyng wythout Aldersgate' and 'in S. Botolphs Parryshe.'

Taking, for the sake of convenience, JOHN OVERTON, as second in order of the 1548 Ipswich printers, we find him connected only with one book—

Illvstrivm maioris Britanniae scriptorvm, hoc est, Angliae, Cambriae, ac Scotiæ Summariū, in quasdam centurias diuisum, cum diuersitate doctrinarū atq; annorū recta supputatione per omnes ætates a Iapheto sanctissimi Noah filio, ad annum domini. M.D. XLVIII. Avtore Ioanne Balaeo Svdovolca.

Excvdebatvr praesens opvs VVesaliae per Theodoricum Plateanum, Anno a seruatoris natiuitate. M.D. XLVIIII.[1] Pridie Calendas Augusti.

[1] An evident misprint for 1548.

In another issue of the same edition of this book the imprint is thus altered—

> Excvdebatvr praesens opvs, anno a nativitate unicæ illius pro peccatis uictimæ, patri in crucem oblatæ, quadragesimo octauo supra millesimum et quingentesimum, pridie Calendas Augusti.

With the exception of the imprint both issues of the book are identical. On leaf Qqq 4 or Fo. 248, Overton's name occurs thus: 'Completum erat presens Britannicorum scriptorum opus, doctrinarum per omnes ætates ecclesie, patefaciēs discrimē, ac diuersitatē manifestans, Excusumque fuit Gippeswici in Anglia per Ioannem Ouerton, anno a Christi incarnatione. 1548. pridie calendas Augusti.' The book is printed throughout with the same types, including the frequent use of a black letter ꝟ mixed with a different fount. How much was printed by Overton at Ipswich it is difficult to determine, but it seems as if he only printed the last two sheets, the greater part having been executed at Wesel. The author had been eight years an exile with his wife and children, and was returning to England, at the age of fifty-three 'regis Edwardi sexti suffragijs liberis.'

Our third Ipswich printer of 1548 is JOHN OSWEN, a name suggestive of Welsh origin. He printed here—

1. The Mynde of the Godly and excellent lerned man M. Jhon Caluyne, what a Faithfull man, whiche is instructe in the Worde of God, ought to do, dwellinge amongest the Papistes. Translated by R. G.
2. Domestycal or housholde Sermons, for a godly housholder, to his children and famely . . . by Christopher Hegendorphine . . . translated by Henry Reiginalde.
3. John Oecolampadius his epistle, that there ought to be no respect of personages of the poore, but all to be holpe and comforted in their necessities.

4. Of the trewe auctoritie of the Churche, Compyled by the excellent learned man Philippe Melancthon, and dedicate vnto the noble Duke off Prussia, newely translated out of Latin into Englyshe.
5. A Brief declaration of the fained sacrament, commonly called the extreame vnction, wryten by the godly learned man M. Jhon Caluine, and translated out of the latine into Englysh by W. B. In Septembre, Anno 1548.
6. An inuectiue against dronkennes.
7. A declaration of the Masse: the fruyte therof, the cause and the meane, wherfore and howe it oughte to be maynteyned. Newely perused and augmented by the first author thereof. M. Anthony Marcort at Geneva. Translated out of French into Englysh. Printed Anno M.D. XLVIII.
8. A short treatise of certayne thinges abused,
   In the popish church long vsed;
   But now abolyshed to our consolation
   And God's word advanced, the light of our saluation.
   Written by Peter Moone.
9. A Newe boke conteyninge an exhortaciō to the sycke, the sycke man's prayer, a prayer with thanks at the purificatiō of womē, a consolatiō at buriall.

Copies of Nos. 1, 2, and 7, and the last two leaves of 8, are in the Bodleian Library, while copies of Nos. 1, 2, 8, and 9 are in the British Museum. Fragments of No. 6 and a copy of No. 9 are in the University Library, Cambridge.

IX.—Worcester, 1548 to 1553

Towards the close of the year 1548, John Oswen removed to Worcester, where he obtained a licence dated Jan. 6, 2 Edward VI., 'to print, . . . every kind of book, or books, set forth by us, concerning the service to be used in churches, ministration of the sacraments, and instruction of our subjects of the Principality of Wales, and marches thereunto belonging, . . . for seven years, prohibiting all other persons whatsoever from printing the same.'

According to Herbert's Ames Oswen printed at Worcester in 1548 two editions of The New Testament, one in quarto and the other in folio, also another quarto edition, 12th January 1550, and a fourth without date in octavo. A copy of the edition of 12th January 1550, wanting title, is in the library of Balliol College, Oxford, and in the British Museum is an imperfect copy of an edition in duodecimo, lettered 'Oswen. Worcester. 1548,' which may be Herbert's octavo without date. The Balliol 1550 issue contains an address from 'The prynter to the reader,' on the subject of the annotations.

Of 'The boke of the common praier,' Oswen certainly printed three editions at Worcester. Of the earliest, in quarto, copies are in the British Museum, University Library, Cambridge, and a third most perfect, clean, and beautiful copy, in the possession of Mrs. Bulley, widow of the late President of Magdalen College, Oxford, 'Imprinted the xxiiii day of May Anno. M.D.XLIX,' not as Herbert has it, 'the 23 day of May.' At the end we find, 'The kynges maiestie by the aduise of hys most deare vncle the Lord Protector and other hys highnes Councell streightly chargeth and commaundeth y^t^ no maner of person do sell this present boke vnbounde, aboue the price of .ii. Shillinges and two pence ye piece. And the same bound in paste or in boordes, not aboue the pryce of thre shillynges and eyght pence the piece. God saue the kynge.'

Of the next edition, in folio, an imperfect copy in the Bodleian Library bears at the end, 'Imprinted the, xxx, day of July . ANNO . DO. M.D.XLIX.'

A copy of the third edition, in folio, with title in red and black, 'Wigorniæ, in officina Ioannis

Oswen . . . Anno 1552,' is in the Bodleian Library, unfortunately imperfect at the end.

In addition to the seven editions of these two books, other productions of Oswen's Worcester press are as follows:—

1. A Consultorie for all Christians. Most godly and earnestly warnyng al people, to beware least they beare the name of christians in vayne. Written by H. H. Now first imprinted, the . xxx . day of Januarie. Anno M.Dxlix.[1]

A copy of this is in the Huth Library, the Catalogue of which contains this note.—Prefixed is Edward VI.'s licence to Oswen to print all sorts of service or Prayer books, and 'al maner of bokes conteinyng any storye or exposition of God's holy scripture,' 'within our Principalitie of Wales, and marches of the same.' The University Library, Cambridge, has two copies.

2. Chr. Hegendorphine, his howshold sermons. Translated out of Latin by Hen. Reignalde, 1548.
3. A Dialogue betwene the seditious anabaptist and the true christian, about obedience to magistrates, etc., 1549.
4. Spirituall Matrimonie betweene Christ and his Church.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are quoted by Herbert as printed in 1549.

5. A Message sent by the kynges Maiestie, to certain of his people, assembled in Devonshire. Geuen at Richmōd, the . viii . of July, the . iii . yere of our reigne. Imprinted by Richard Grafton, printer to the kynges maiestie. Mense Iulij.

A copy of this is in the Bodleian Library. The book with a similar title, entered by Herbert as 'Imprinted the 5th day of August, anno M DXL IX. at Worcester by John Oswen,' is doubtless another

[1] This is intentionally placed as $154\frac{8}{9}$ in preference to $15\frac{49}{50}$.

edition, perhaps addressed to the people of Wales and the marches of the same.

6. The Psalter or Psalms of Dauid after the translation of the great Bible, perfectly pointed as it shall be songe in Churches: With a Table shewynge what Psalmes be appointed for euery day in the yeare. Imprinted the fyrst day of Septembre. Anno Do. M.D.XLIX.

A copy of this in quarto, with title in red and black, is in the British Museum.

7. Certayne Sermons appointed by the kinges Maiestie, to be declared and read by all persons, vicars or Curates, euerye Sonday and holy day in their Churches, where they haue Cure: Newlye Imprinted in partes, accordinge as is mentioned in the boke of common praier. Anno Do. M.D.XLIX.

Two copies in the British Museum.

8. A short pathwaye to the ryghte and true vnderstanding of holye & sacred scriptures: set fourth by that famous Clerke, Huldrich Zwinglius, and now translated out of Laten, into Englysshe by Ihon Veron, Senonois. Imprinted the .xxiiii. day of Maie. Anno. Do. 1550. [Dedicated to sir Arthur Darcye knight.]

A copy in the Bodleian, and another with facsimile title in the British Museum.

9. St. Ambrose of oppression: translated by John Oswen, and entituled Poore Naboth oppressed by rich Ahab. Printed by him, 1550.

Herbert, quoting from Maunsell, is my authority for this book. He remarks of it: 'It has no date of place; but as he did not stay so long at either Ipswich or London, have placed it here.'

10. The godly saiyngs of the old auncient faithful fathers / vpon the Sacrament of the bodye and bloude of Chryste. Newly compyled and translated oute of Latin intoo English. By Ihon Veron Senonoys. Written at Hackeney, ye laste day of October, in the yeare of

our Lord. M.D.XLVIII. Imprinted the. xj. day of October. Anno. Do. 1550.

Dedicated to 'Syr Ihon Yorke, knight, treasurer of the Kinges Maiesties Mint in Southwarke, master of all ye kinges wooddes, on this syde Trente, and Shriue of the noble citie of London.' Copies are in the British Museum, Cambridge University, and Bodleian Libraries.

11. A notable and maruailous epistle of the famous Doctor, Mathewe Gribalde, professor of the law, in the vniuersitie of Padua: concerning the terrible iudgement of god, vpon hym that for feare of men, denyeth Christ and the knowen veritie: wyth a Preface of Doctor Caluine. Translated out of Latin intoo English by E. A.[1] Anno .1550. in August.

A copy in the Bodleian Library (imperfect).

12. A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue, betwene y^t^ seditious Libertin or rebel Anabaptist, & the true obedient christiā, wherin, as in a mirrour or glasse ye shal se y^t^ excellencie and worthynesse of a christiā magistrate: & again what obedience is due vnto publique rulers of al thē y^t^ professe Christ yea, though ye rulers in externe & outward things, to their vtter dampnatyon, do otherwyse then well: translated out of Latyn into Englisshe, by Ihō Veron Senonoys. Imprynted the third daye of Aprill, Anno. Do. 1551. At worceter in ye hygh strete, by Ihon Oswen. They be also to sell at Shrewesbury. [Dedicated to 'Syr Ihon Gates, Knight.']

Two copies in the Bodleian Library, and another in that of B. N. C., Oxford.

13. Godly and most necessary Annotations in ye xiij. Chapyter too the Romaynes: Set furthe by the right vigilant Pastor, Ihō Hoper, by gods calling, Busshop of Gloucestre. Anno. Do. 1551. Mense Maij. Imprynted the. xiij. day of May. Anno. Do. 1551. At worceter by Ihō Oswen, Printer appoynted by ye Kinges Maiestie, for ye Principalitie of Wales, and Marches of ye same.

[1] Edward Aglionby.

Herbert's copy is in the University Library, Cambridge, and one wanting title in the Bodleian Library.

14. A moste sure and strong defence of the baptisme of children, against ye pestiferous secte of the Anabaptystes. set furthe by that famouse Clerke, Henry Bullynger: & nowe translated out of Laten into Englysh by Jhon Veron Senonoys. Imprynted . . . 1551. [Dedicated to 'Master Thomas Fletwod, Comptroller of the Kinges Maiesties Minte, in Southwarke.']

Five copies of this book are in the Bodleian Library. 'The rich Bodleian wants much,' says Sir S. Egerton Brydges. It is a pity some system of loan-exchange cannot be established between our great libraries.

15. The most frutefull dialogues, treatynge vpon the baptisme of chyldren, very necessary to be rede of all chrystyans in these most paryllouse tymes; by Jhon Heron[1]. 1551. (Herbert's Ames.)
16. An Homelye to be read in the tyme of pestylence, and a moste presente remedye for the same. To all Pastoures and Curates wythin the Kinges Maiesties Diocesse of Worcester and Gloucester. Imprinted at worceter by Ihon Oswen. . . . 18. Maij. 1553.
17. Statutes, 7 Edw. VI. Colophon, 'At Worcestre—, Printer appoincted by the Kinges Maiestie, for the Principalitie of Wales, and Marches of the same. Anno Domini. M.D.LIII. (Quoted by Herbert as in his own possession.)

X.—Canterbury, 1549-1556.

Andrew Maunsell, bookseller, in his *Catalogue of English printed Bookes*, 1595, has entered the following title: *A goodly narration how S. Augustine (the Apostle of England) raysed two dead bodies at Longcompō, collected out of diuers Authors, translated by Ioh. Lidgate, Monke of*

[1] This looks suspiciously like a repetition of the foregoing entry.

bury. Pri. at S. Austens at Canterburie, in 4. Lewis, in his *Life of Caxton*, 1737, dates this 'about 1525.'

As to the accuracy of Maunsell's entry and of Lewis' probable date it is difficult to give a definite opinion until a copy of the book itself shall be discovered; but it is curious to note that the British Museum possesses two copies of a quarto book of somewhat cognate character connected with St. Austens at Canterbury, but printed in London. This is *The history of King Boccus, & Sydracke, how he confounded his lerned men, and in ye syght of them dronke stronge venym in the name of the Trinite, & did hym no hurt. Translatyd by Hugo of Caumpeden, oute of frenche into Englysshe.*

It was printed, the colophon tells us, 'At the coste and charge of dan Robert Saltwode, mōke of saynt Austens at Cantorbury' by Thomas Godfray in London, and was therefore probably produced about 1530 or 1535. Possibly the book mentioned by Maunsell as having been printed at Canterbury, was really the outcome of a similar partnership. Until this point is decided we may fairly treat JOHN MYCHELL as the first printer at Canterbury. Within what precise limits his press was at work it is not possible to decide. His earliest dated production hitherto discovered belongs to 1549 and his latest to 1556; but he issued several books without date, some of which may be earlier, others later than the period stated. That he quitted Canterbury for London, however, in the reign of Queen Mary, is fairly well established by an entry in the Sale Catalogue of Thomas Caldecott's collection, 1833 (lot 1458). *Here after foloweth the Lyfe of Saynt Gregories mother. Enprynted at Londō By John Mychell.*

Some of Mychell's undated Canterbury productions plainly belong to the reign of King Edward VI., while others as certainly range themselves in that of Queen Mary; but the following order of numbering is only provisional.

1. The psalter or psalmes of Dauid after the translacion of the great Bible/ poynted as it shall be songe in Churches. Cum priuilegio imprimendum solum, 1549. Prynted at Cantorbury in saynt Paules paryshe by John Mychell.[1] Again 1550. 4to. (Sale Catalogue of Dr. Lort, 1791, lot 3101, and Herbert's Ames.)
2. A treatise of predestination and election by John Lamberd, minister of the church at Elam, 1550. 8vo. (A copy in the University Library, Cambridge.)
3. Newes from Rome concerning the blasphemous sacrifice of the papisticall Masse, with dyuers other treatises very Godlye ꝛt profitable. Prynted at Cantorbury by J. Mychell, for E. Campion. 8vo. (Dedication: To my ryghte honorable lorde and mayster my lorde Thomas Hawarte/ Randoll Hurleston wyssheth helthe in the lorde.)

Three copies in the Bodleian Library, one in the British Museum, and a fifth in the University Library, Cambridge.

4. A short epistle to all such, as do contempne the mariage of us poor preestes. 16mo.
5. The spirituall matrimonye betwene Chryste, and the Soul. 24mo. (Herbert's Ames.)
6. Two dyaloges wrytten in laten by the famous clerke, D. Erasm9 of Roterodame/ one called Polyphemus or the gospeller/ the other dysposyng of thynges and names/ translated in to Englyshe by Edmonde Becke. 8vo. A copy in the British Museum, and one in the University Library, Cambridge.
7. The confessyon of fayth, delyuered to the emperour Charles the Vth, by the lordes of Germany, written in Latyn by Phylyppe Melanchton, and translated into Englyshe by Robert Syngylton. 8vo. (Herbert's Ames.)
8. An exposytion in Englyshe vpon the Epistyll of saynt Paule to the Philippiās/ for the instruction of them that be vnlerned in tōges: gathered out of holy scrip-

[1] This is the wording of Mychell's imprint in the majority of his Canterbury books seen by me.

tures/ ꝛ of the olde catholike doctours of the church/ ꝛ of the best authors that now adayes do write. By Lancelot Rydley of Cantorbury. 8vo. A copy in the Bodleian Library.

9. Here foloweth the Churle and the byrde. [Two figures of men, with an empty scroll over either head; between them a tree, in which is the bird.] 4to. A copy in the Bodleian Library.

10. A breuiat Cronicle contaynynge all the Kinges from brute to this daye, and manye notable actes gathered oute of diuers Cronicles frō Willyam Conquerour vnto the yere of christ a. M. v. c. lii.

In the British Museum are three different editions of this Chronicle, in the latest of which the date is altered to M. v. C. liii.

At the end of the first edition is the note: 'Here I shoulde have put in the notable waies from certaine cities to Londō, but some of them be not marked truely wherefore I left them out till such tyme as I haue more knowlege in these waies.' They were added at the end of the other editions as: 'Here after foloweth the lengthe breadth and compasse of Englande with the nombre of parysshe churches, townes, and Byshoprykes.' The Dedication is 'To the ryght worshypful knight syr Antony Auchor master of the kinges Juel house, John mychel boke Prynter wisheth helth and prosperitie.'

11. Articles to be enquyred in thordinary visitacion of the most reuerende father in God, the Lorde Cardinall Pooles grace Archebyshop of Caunterbury wythin hys Dioces of Cantorbury. In the yeare of our Lorde God. m. v. c. lvi. 4to. First and last leaves only in the Douce collection, Bodleian Library; formerly Herbert's copy.

The existence of one more Canterbury book has been conjectured from a passage in John Proctor's dedication to Queen Mary of his *Historie of Wyate's Rebellion*, printed by Caly, January 10, 1555.

Proctor there says: 'Hearing the sundry tales thereof farre dissonaunt in the vtteraunce, . . . and vnderstanding besydes what notable infamie spronge of this rebellion to the whole countre of Kent, & to euery membre of ye same, where sundrie & many of them to mine owne knowledge shewed themselues most faithfull & worthye subiectes, as by ye story self shal euidently appeare, which either of hast or of purpose were omitted in a printed booke late sette furth at Canterbury: I thought these to be special considerations whereby I ought of duety to my countrey to compile & digest suche notes as I had gathered concerning that rebellion, in some forme & fashion of historie, & to publish the same in this age & at thys present, contrary to my first intent.'

Herbert infers from this passage that a History of Wyat's rebellion was printed at Canterbury; but Proctor only speaks of 'a printed book late sette furth at Canterbury,' and this may possibly have been a later edition than either of those quoted above, of Mychell's own *Breuiat Cronicle* brought down to date.

This completes our list of just over 100 books printed at provincial presses in the ten centres mentioned, down to the year 1556, when the Queen's grant of a charter (dated May 4) to the Stationers' Company put a stop for a long time to legitimate printing except at London and the Universities. In 1554 certainly two, and perhaps three, editions were printed of a book entitled '*A faythfull admonycion of a certen trewe pastor and prophete, sent vnto the germanes at such tyme as certen great princes went*

abowt to bring in alienes into germany,' and the colophon of this runs 'Imprynted at Grenewych by Conrade Freeman in the month of May 1554. With the most gracios licence and priuilege of god almighty, Kyng of heauen and erth.' But, as the last words prepare us to expect, the imprint is fictitious, and the book, probably printed at Basle, or possibly at Geneva, is only mentioned here to avoid misapprehension.

W. H. ALLNUTT.

THE ILLUSTRATED BOOKS OF SEBASTIAN BRANDT

THERE are but few works of the close of the fifteenth century which have made a more enduring reputation than that of the *Narrenschiff* of Sebastian Brandt, and the renown which the author of this famous book appears to have achieved in the compass of a very brief period reached far beyond the limits of his own country and extended to almost every part of Northern Europe. It is somewhat difficult to picture to ourselves now the exact conditions under which this work first appeared, in its Latin dress, in the ancient city of Basle, in the year 1497. Doubtless its translation at this time into Latin by Locher was the signal for its introduction to the readers of other countries, far and wide; for the German original, published in 1494, would scarcely attract the notice of the learned in remote parts, although its quaint and singular illustrations would commend it to the book-lover, apart from the witty and incisive attacks upon the follies and vices of the age, by which it is characterised.

It has been claimed indeed for the *Ship of Fools* that it was the first printed book giving an account of contemporaneous events and living persons, instead of the old German heroes and the French knights, who peopled the story-books of that period. No wonder, then, since it took a new line both in matter and illustrations, that it so soon became popular, and that it was speedily translated into French and

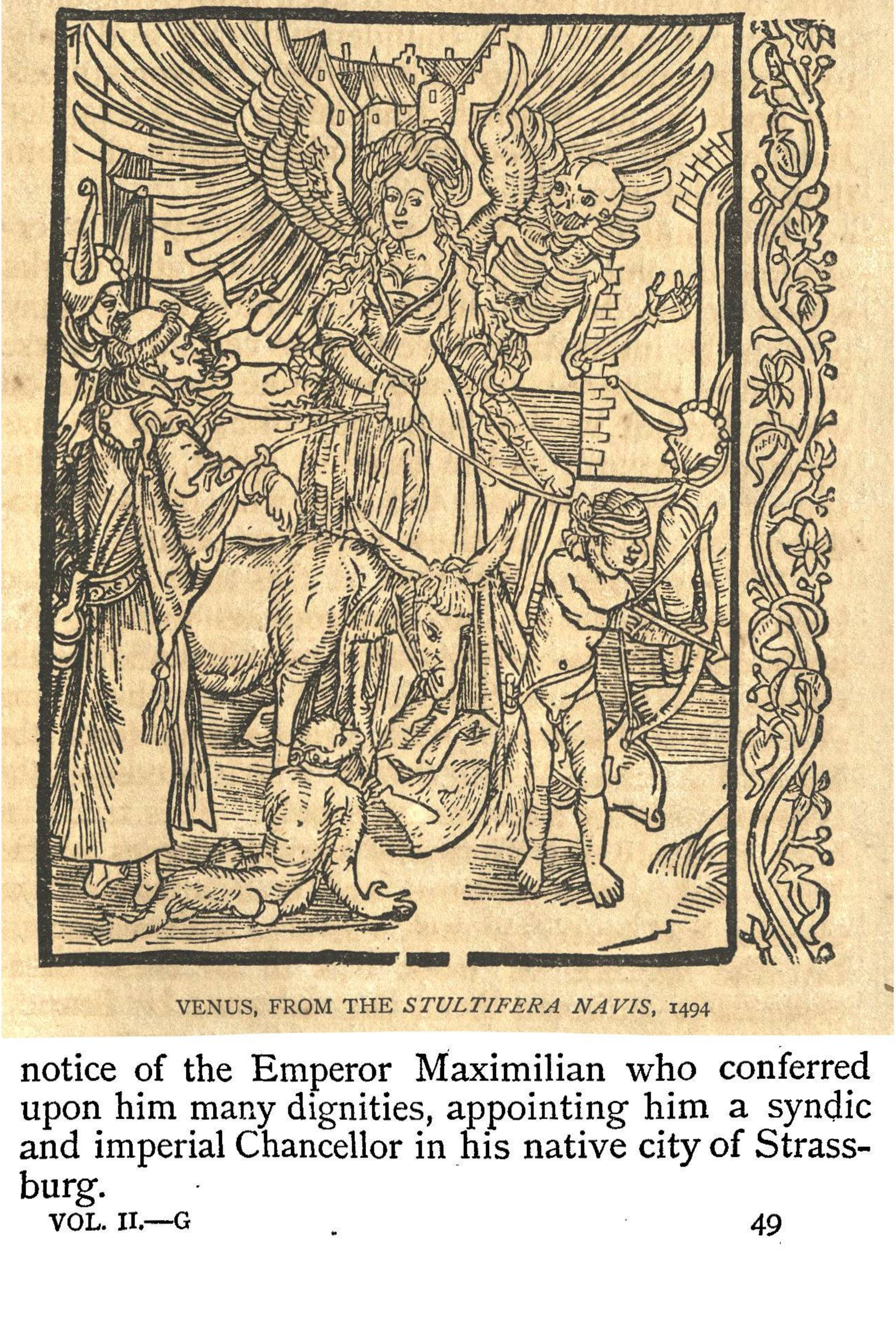
English as well as into Dutch and Low German, while the learned Badius imitated the Latin translation in the same language in 1507. It is not easy to say with certainty how many editions of Brandt's work in German had appeared even before this date, but we can speak with confidence of five, and only two years later in 1509 we have from Pynson's press the book in an English translation by Alexander Barclay with 118 woodcuts, rudely imitated from those of the original.

The fame of the *Ship of Fools* has rather overshadowed some of the many other illustrated works which we owe to this author and editor, and it may perhaps be interesting if we turn to certain of these delightful picture-books and examine the system on which Brandt worked and the claims that he has upon our regard, as the guiding spirit, if not the the artist, as some have thought, who himself produced the designs for these varied woodcuts.

We must remember that at this time little had been done to bring into harmonious working the author and the book-illustrator, notwithstanding the efforts of Hartmann Schedel, and his epoch-making *Nuremberg Chronicle* with the designs from the hand of Michael Wohlgemuth, which preceded the *Narrenschiff* by a few months only. It is true that both in Italy and Germany various copies of the Bible and a few editions and translations of the classics had been copiously enriched with woodcuts, but the method of work was in all these cases essentially different from that adopted by Brandt, who appears in certain respects to have broken new ground and to have made use of ingenious devices for producing variety and interest with comparatively simple materials.

What is known of Brandt's early career may

be readily summarised. He was born in 1458, or as some have it 1454, at Strassburg, and was educated at the University of Basle, where he subsequently became Professor of Laws. He speedily attracted the



VENUS, FROM THE *STULTIFERA NAVIS*, 1494

notice of the Emperor Maximilian who conferred upon him many dignities, appointing him a syndic and imperial Chancellor in his native city of Strassburg.

Brandt's earlier books have but few illustrations, and the *Ship of Fools*, printed by J. Bergman de Olpe of Basle in 1494, is, we believe, the first work by him in which any special attempt is made to treat of topics of current interest with woodcuts adapted to convey a full illustration of the text, the special characteristic of all Brandt's subsequent books.

It is scarcely necessary now to dwell at any length upon the illustrations of the *Narrenschiff* of 1494. These woodcuts have been frequently described and reproduced, and it has been very justly pointed out that, both as respects the design and the technique of the engraving, they vary immensely in merit. Some of them are undoubtedly the work of a master hand, others are extremely rude, both in drawing and in workmanship. Among the best of the series, 117 in number, is that which heads the chapter, quaintly styled by Barclay, 'Of disordred love and veneryous.' The central personage is Venus, a grandly drawn winged figure, ensnaring folks of every degree. At her side is death, as a skeleton, while a blindfolded cupid goes before her with bow and quiver; an ass and an ape, emblematical of stupidity and folly, complete the group.

We will not now concern ourselves with an inquiry into the share which Brandt undoubtedly had in the selection of the subjects for illustration, if not in the actual production of certain of the designs which have often been claimed as his own. Didot, indeed, states that in the Museum at Basle there are certain drawings from the hand of Brandt for a contemplated edition of *Terence* which was never completed, but we learn from Dr. D. Burckhardt, the eminent director of the Oeffentliche

Kunstsammlung of Basle, that these designs for the *Andria* were for the most part drawn by Albrecht Dürer about 1493. But we find a proof of the interest which Brandt took in these matters in a prefatory address to the wonderful *Virgil* of 1502, in which he claims in distinct language that he has given the reader the illustrations more fully than any one has done before, in order to represent to him vividly the writings of the poet.

In the year following the issue of the *Narrenschiff*, namely, in 1495, we have a notable book by Brandt, partly in prose and partly in poetry, likewise from the press of J. Bergman de Olpe of Basle, the *De Origine et conversatione bonorum Regum: et laude Civitatis Hierosolymæ.* Here, however, there are only two illustrations, both intended to flatter the Emperor Maximilian, whom they represent in the act of receiving a sword from Heaven, probably as an inducement to recapture the Holy City, and there is good reason to think that about this time Brandt received his appointment from the emperor and came to Strassburg.

The rich and splendidly illustrated works with which we desire more especially to associate his name on the present occasion were all of them the productions of a printer who worked in that city and whose name in the colophons is given as Johannes Grüninger, or Johannes Reinhard, surnamed Grüninger. Before we pass on to these, one small octavo of a somewhat earlier date, the *Quadragesimale*, must first be noticed. This was printed at Basle by Michael Furter, likewise in the year 1495. We cannot say what share Brandt may have had in the production of this rare little sermon book, which he introduces to the reader's attention in some Latin verses. He does not speak in any

way of the illustrations, of which there are eighteen, besides the printer's mark, though as two subjects are twice repeated, there are only sixteen designs.

We think we can trace in some of the cuts the same hand which is conspicuous in the *Narren-*

THE RIOTOUS LIVING OF THE PRODIGAL SON.
FROM THE *QUADRAGESIMALE*, 1495

schiff, and we have reproduced in facsimile a typical and characteristic example, in which we see the prodigal son wasting his substance in bad company with 'riotous living.' An angel, who is constantly present throughout the entire set of

designs, admonishes the misguided youth and seems rather out of place among the gay companions in the 'far country.' In the designs for this book there is little trace of any influence other than that of the Van Eyck School, and it was not, indeed, until much later that the Italian Renaissance spirit made itself apparent in the Art of Southern Germany. Basle remained in fact true to the old Gothic traditions for a longer period than almost any other German City, and Butsch maintains that Urs Graf, about 1513, was the first to work in the new style in the city of his adoption.

Coming now to the productions of Grüninger at Strassburg, we have four folios which constitute a series by themselves, being alike in the richness of their illustrations and in the originality of their conception, viz. the *Terence* of 1496, the *Horace* of 1498, the *Boetius* of 1501, and the *Virgil*, already mentioned, which appeared in 1502. The name of Brandt is only associated with the last two of these volumes, but it is almost impossible to escape the conviction that he had much to do with the two earlier classics for which his friend and pupil Locher of Ingolstadt acted as the editor. Locher takes no credit to himself for the illustrations, which he attributes, in the prefatory letter to the *Terence*, to Grüninger, the 'prudent and honest citizen of Strasburg.' Now we have seen that about this time Brandt came to Strassburg and that a few years later he was acting as the editor and declared coadjutor of Grüninger in two other works of the same series, which are identical in plan and arrangement with the *Terence* and *Horace* produced with the annotations of Locher, and it is thus not unreasonable to suppose that he was responsible for the form of all the four books.

We give here a facsimile from an illustration to the *Terence* (fol. 84 recto, *Heauton*, Act 5) which will explain our views, and we may mention that many of the wood blocks are common to several volumes of the series. It will be seen that this design consists of three separate blocks, all of them figure-subjects (Chremes, Sostrata, and Clitipho).

FROM THE *TERENCE* OF 1496

On the opposite page the first two blocks occur again, Chremes standing next a tree, and there being an architectural design at either end. The blocks are united together rather imperfectly by the cross hatching of the ground on which the persons stand, and the whole set are included within bold type lines at the top and bottom. Here we have an epitome of the entire scheme of the arrangement

adopted in Grüninger's illustrated classics. A limited number of blocks which comprise male and female figures, trees, plants, and foliage, and architectural interiors and exteriors are ingeniously combined, much as a skilful scenic artist would deal with his stage effects, and an infinite variety of grouping is obtained with relatively few parts. Sometimes the figures have labels above them, which are often left blank, as is the case here; in other instances the names in them relate to some previous appearance in another character.

FROM THE *BOETHIUS* OF 1501

Precisely the same methods and many of the identical blocks occur in the *Horace* of 1498, which has an introductory letter from Locher to the Margrave Charles of Baden, dated from Freiburg in 1497, and reference is therein made to the book being 'formis imaginibusque pulcherrimis adornatum.'

The next work of the series, the *Boethius*, which is dated 1501, differs from its predecessors in that the scale of the illustrations is much reduced, necessitating an entirely new set of blocks which would seem to have been prepared specially for this book. We reproduce on a reduced scale the design on the

verso of fol. 10 (Book 1. Prose 4), which is in four panels, two of them architectural in character, and two containing figure subjects. Boethius himself reclines on a most gorgeous couch and awaits the visit of the philosopher and his guide who inquire into the nature of his malady. But on fol. 5 we have the same block of Boethius, here reproduced in its full size, and as this is an illustration to the

FROM THE *BOETHIUS* OF 1501

second metre, the visitants are now equipped with a harp.

The full significance and value of Brandt's labours can however only properly be estimated from a careful examination of the famous *Virgil* of 1502, which is to our mind one of the most wonderful illustrated books ever produced and which it is impossible to do more than glance at upon the present occasion. Here the work of the scene-shifter with a number of small movable blocks no longer prevails, but we have in place thereof some hundreds

THE ATTACK OF TURNUS ON TROY.
FROM THE *VIRGIL* OF 1502

of designs, specially produced for the present volume, many of them of large size, and conveying a vivid picture of the manner in which the scenes of antiquity presented themselves to the mind of the fifteenth century artist.

We have selected two of these very characteristic illustrations for reproduction here, on a slightly reduced scale; the first of these from the ninth book of the *Æneid*, on the verso of fol. 339, shows us the attack on Troy by Turnus and his warriors. High on their lances are the heads of the ill-fated Nisus and Euryalus, and as Ogilby has it:—

> 'Each man his wrath with various humours whets,
> When Nisus and Euryalus' heads they bring
> Fix'd on tall spears, and with loud clamouring
> (A woful sight) came on.'

The quaint old German city behind the ramparts, which does duty (as the label tells us) for Troy, the costumes of the combatants, and the incongruous cannons in the foreground, combine to form indeed a strange picture of classic times. Our second woodcut, taken from the eleventh *Æneid*, will be found on the verso of page 373. It represents, of course, Evander mourning over the bier of Pallas. In the background the houses of Pallantium remind us somewhat of Nuremberg, and to the left the train of citizens, pouring forth to the obsequies of Pallas, is headed by nuns bearing lighted tapers.

There is a vigour and a directness of purpose in these illustrations, combined with a delightful mediævalism, which is in every case most fascinating and which reveals an entirely new motive in the designer's art, namely, the desire to tell the whole of the story. It is manifest that these illustrations were prompted, if not drawn, by some one who had at his fingers' ends the whole

EVANDER MOURNING OVER THE BIER OF PALLAS,
FROM THE *VIRGIL* OF 1502

meaning of the author and saw the story in all its bearings, and this is the fact which distinguishes the Virgil designs from the otherwise insipid and spiritless work that had gone before. We have in fact a combination of the editor with the illustrator such as had not been attempted previously, and this is, we believe, the secret of the success of the books which Brandt directed and inspired.

GILBERT R. REDGRAVE.

THE LONG SHOP IN THE POULTRY

THE quaint old-fashioned names that we meet with in the streets and lanes of the city of London continually remind us of its long and varied history. The neighbourhood of St. Paul's Cathedral abounds in such names, and, in spite of all the architectural changes of successive centuries, Paternoster Row, Ave Maria Lane, Amen Corner, Creed Lane, and Watling Street, mark the boundaries of the precincts, just as they did in mediæval times.

The 'West Chepe' of old has been modernised into Cheapside, but the eastern end of it retains to this day the curious title of the 'Poultry,' inherited from the period when poulterers' shops bordered either side of the roadway. But greater changes than this have taken place in this part of the city. In Stow's time, and a good many years before that, a church stood on the north side of the Poultry, on the very edge of the Wallbrook, one of the many streams that flowed across the city from the northern heights. St. Mildred's in the Poultry, as it was called, probably stood where we now find St. Mildred's Court, close by the Gresham Insurance Offices. The neighbourhood beyond it, now occupied by the Mansion House, the Bank, and the Royal Exchange, was the market for live cattle, hence called the Stock, or Stockes Market, and between the Church of St. Mildred and the market there stood a row of shops, that nearest the church being a printing-house, known in the trade as the '"Longe Shoppe" in the Pultry,' probably so called

from its peculiar shape. Its exact position is made still clearer by some of the colophons that are found in books printed there, which tell us that it was 'six doores from the Stockes up the Pultry.'

Another shop in this row, the middle one, was in 1580 occupied by a bookseller named William Wright. But the whole of this district was reduced to ashes by the great fire of 1666, when, doubtless, many documents perished that would have thrown light on the history of this printing-house. As it is, the annals of the 'Long Shop' begin in the year 1523, and for upwards of a century we can follow its history and the varied fortunes of the men who successively held it. During that period several important changes took place in the conditions under which printing was carried on in England, and as we handle these quaint black-letter books and pamphlets and note the strange spelling, and rough woodcuts, or the elaborate devices of the printers, we are moved by a strong desire to learn all we can about the men who produced them. The books themselves tell us a great deal, but not enough, and it is amusing, though at the same time not a little ridiculous, to see the shifts that zealous biographers and bibliographers have been put to, in order to fill up the gaps that history has left.

In the following pages I shall endeavour to piece together the scraps of information about the tenants of the Long Shop, which at present lie scattered here and there in various books. During the last half century many splendid private libraries have passed under the auctioneer's hammer, with the result that considerable additions can be made to the lists of books drawn up by Ames and his successors. Moreover, the study of bibliography has, during the same period, become something

more than a mere hobby; it has been recognised as an important factor in the history of books, so that we have a better description of these early printed books than was given us by the bibliographers of the last century. But even more valuable than these are the labours of those who are editing the State Papers, the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, and, last but not least, Professor Arber's magnificent work the 'Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers.' Wanting such helps as these, it is not surprising that Ames and his successors left much unnoticed. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that not one of the printers who worked at this printing-house has received a word of notice in Bigmore and Wymans' *Bibliography of Printing*, and only two of them have been thought worthy of a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The first name I meet with is that of Richard Banckes, who, in the year 1523, printed 'in the pultery, at the longe Shoppe,' a very curious tract, entitled:—

¶ Here begynneth a lytyll new treatyse or mater intytuled & called The .ix. Drunkardes whyche tratythe of dyuerse and goodly storyes ryght plesaunte and frutefull for all parsones for to pastyme with. [*Colophon*:]

¶ Here endethe the story of the ix. drunkardes trāslated out of duche into englyshe And Inprynted by me Rycharde banckys dwellyne in the pultery at the longe shoppe be syde seynt myldredys chyrche dore at the stockys the yrre of our lorde god a M v. C. xxiii. the .v. day of october. ¶ Cum gracia et priuilegio.

The copy, from which this transcript is taken, is in the Douce collection at the Bodleian. The book would seem to be very rare, and, so far as I know, has not been noticed by any other writer. It is

described as an octavo, printed in black letter with woodcuts, and consists of twenty leaves.

Another little brochure from this press, of equal rarity, was the romance of *Sir Eglamour*, in verse, of which a fragment of four quarto leaves, much mutilated, but happily with the colophon intact, is in the possession of Mr. F. Jenkinson, the librarian of University Library, Cambridge, to whose kindness I am indebted for this opportunity of making it known.

About the year 1528, Robert Copland, author, translator, printer, searcher after hidden knowledge that might make men wiser, was handed, by an English seaman newly home from Bordeaux, a French book on navigation, which he had picked up whilst on shore there. Its title was *Le Grant Routier*, or, as Copland translated it, *The Great Rutter of the Sea*, and it gave the soundings round the coasts of England, France, Brittany, and adjacent countries, with sailing directions for entering the chief harbours, directions how to anchor, and a digest of the famous maritime laws known as the Laws of Oléron.

This book Copland showed to Banckes, who at once saw its value, and undertook, if Copland would translate it, to print it at his own costs and charges. And so from the 'Long Shop in the Poultry' came out the earliest work on Navigation in the English language. Unfortunately, no copy of this first edition is known, but the record of it is found in Ames under 'Banckes,' and several of the later editions are in the British Museum. Notwithstanding this, the book has been overlooked by all writers upon navigation, owing to a mistaken notion that it was a book of sea laws only. This, however, is not the case; two-thirds of the book treats of

navigation, the 'laws' being only appended because of their importance to navigators.

Richard Banckes also printed from the Long Shop a *Herball* and a book of medicine called *The Treasure of Pore Men*. This last deserves notice, as it was unquestionably the most popular book of its kind during the sixteenth century. No less than fifteen different printers issued it between the years 1540 and 1560, some of them twice over, and an attempt was made by a monk of the name of Thomas Moulton to tap its popularity by the issue of a work under the title of the *Mirror or Glasse of Helthe, a great Treasure for Pore Men*. It has been suggested that this was an abridgment of the *Treasure of Pore Men*, but a close comparison will prove that it was nothing but a base imitation.

Banckes is perhaps best known as the printer of the works of Richard Taverner, the reformer, for which, in association with Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, he held a special licence from Henry VIII. He was also the printer of a series of ballads, called forth by the execution of Thomas Cromwell in July 1540, of which an unique collection is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. These were privately reprinted in 1875 by the late Mr. Henry Huth in the first series of his *Fugitive Poetical Tracts*, with introductory notices by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt.

Like so many other of the early printers, Banckes appears to have moved about from place to place. We trace him at the Longe Shoppe until 1539, or thereabouts; then he is found at the White Hart in Fleet Street, from which he issued most of Taverner's writings; finally, we find him at 'Gracious strete, besyde the Condyte.'

It is in a book printed from this last address

that we find his device. Dibdin appears to have seen it, but it has never yet been described, and as this is the only known example of it, some account of it may be of interest. The mark is found on the last page of a little volume entitled, *A Compendyous olde Treatyse shewynge howe that we ought to have the Scripture in Englysshe with the auctours.* This copy once belonged to John Brand,

RICHARD BANCKES' DEVICE

the antiquary of Lincoln College, Oxford, and has his book-plate. On one of the fly-leaves is a manuscript note of extracts from Thomas Hearne's *Scotichronicon*, and other notes concerning the volume. Two pages of the text are missing and have been supplied by hand. The book is in octavo; collation A B in eights, C 2 leaves; type, black

letter; 23 lines to full page; with catchwords, marginal notes, and woodcuts. The printer's device is found on the verso of the last page. Over a panel or shield supported by two horned animals is a figure with a nimbus. On the panel is a geometrical design, in the upper part of which is the Arabic figure 4, commonly found in merchants' marks of the period, and used by many of the printers. At the foot of the design is a snail, and on either side the letter B.

This copy of the *Compendyous olde Treatyse* is very badly ploughed, and either the paper failed to take the ink properly or the ink was badly laid on. Whatever the cause, it is a very poor specimen of printing. It is indeed hardly possible to form a clear opinion of Richard Banckes' skill as a printer. Very few of his books have survived, and several of these were printed for him by other printers, notably Robert Wyer of Charing Cross, who printed the *Questionary of Cyrurgens*, a medical work of considerable size; the *Ordinal or Statute concerning artificers*, an Act known as the 33 Henry VIII.; a poetical tract entitled the *Mayden's Dreme*, noticed at some length by Collier in his *Bibliographical Account of Rare Books*; and also a curious little tract, a copy of which is preserved in the library of Corpus College, Oxford, entitled

> ¶ A lettre fro the holy | ghost: to preeſtes and | religious perſones / conceyued by yma- | ginacyon. | ¶ With a lettre fro the | Father and ſone | and holy ghost; | dyrected to | all men. | ¶ And after followeth | the thre verytes. ✠

Banckes appears to have had two founts of black letter. Perhaps the best specimen of his printing

was *The ſecōd booke of the Garden of Wysedom*, printed in 1539. In this the type is clear and well cut, and offers a striking contrast to the *Treatyse* above noticed.

There is some doubt as to who was Banckes' immediate successor at the Long Shoppe. The last book he is known to have printed there was the *Rutter of the Sea*, issued in 1528, after which we hear no more of him till 1539, when he put forth Taverner's *Epitome of the Psalms* from the White Hart in Fleet Street. This gap of eleven years can only be explained by the supposition that the books printed during that time are lost. Perhaps to this period we should assign another fragment possessed by Mr. Jenkinson, which comes from a copy of *The Life of St. Margaret*, printed by John Mychell 'in the pultry, at the stockes, at the longe shoppe by saynt myldredes churche.' Whether this printer is to be identified with the John Mychell found printing at Canterbury in 1550, and, if so, at what period he occupied the Long Shop, cannot be determined without further evidence. The historian of the Long Shop touches firm ground again in 1542, when Richard Kele printed there the *Prymer in Englysh*. Scanty as was the biographical notice given by Ames of Richard Banckes, that of Kele is still worse, being summed up in two lines, to the effect that he lived at the Long Shop, and also at the sign of the Eagle in Lombard Street. Neither Herbert nor Dibdin was able to add anything of his own knowledge, and from the very brief titles given in the list of this printer's work by Herbert, it would look as though he had not come across many copies. But Dibdin added an important item, a book of Christmas Carols, printed without date, but at the 'Long Shop.' He described this

as one of the very rarest books of early English Poetry, and from its appearance and the fact of there being three distinct sets of signatures, he took it to be three sets of Carols bound in one volume. But he did not record what type was used in printing these Carols, and he refers his readers to a periodical called the *Bibliographical Miscellanies*, published at Oxford in 1813, 4to, p. 48, for reprints of some of these Carols. This collection of Carols is now at Christ Church.

Another important work to which Kele's name was attached was an edition of Chaucer in folio, printed in black letter, double columns, fifty-three lines to full column. This was a reprint of Thynne's edition of 1532, in which several printers had a share, each one taking a certain number of copies and placing his own colophon in them. William Bonner, Robart Toye, and Thomas Petit were the other partners. As the copies of each are identical in type, number of lines, and so forth, they were clearly distributed after being worked off, and, judging from other specimens of Kele's work, they were certainly not printed by him.

Next to this edition of Chaucer, the most important books issued by this printer were three of the works of John Skelton, *The Boke of Phyllyp Sparowe*, *Colin Clout*, and *Why come ye not to Courte*, all of them printed without date, but from 'the long shop in the Powltry.' The title-page of *Colin Clout* is in two sorts of black letter and one of Roman, and has at the foot two border pieces placed horizontally one above the other. Facing the last page of text is a woodcut of Skelton crowned with laurel and seated in a desk reading. The work is printed throughout in black letter, twenty-three lines to a full page, without running titles or

Suche grace that he vs sende,
To rectyfye and amende
Thynges that are amys
Whan that his pleasure is.

Amen.

In opere imperfecto
In opere semper perfecto:
Et in opere plusq̃ perfecto.

Imprinted at London by me
Rychard Kele dwellyng
in the powltry at the long
shop vnder saynt
Mylfredes
chyrche.

FROM KELE'S EDITION OF SKELTON'S *COLIN CLOUT*

foliation. It is not clearly printed, and the letters are uneven, suggesting that the type was recast.

Why come ye not to Courte is similar in size and general appearance, but on the recto of Aii the verses addressed to 'All noble men' are in a smaller black letter than the rest of the type, while the colophon is printed boldly in Great Primer, and occupies the whole page, on the verso of which is the same woodcut of Skelton as in the previous work.

The Boke of Phyllyp Sparowe is in all respects similar, in size, character of type, and number of lines to a page. The colophon is on the recto of D 8, and on the verso is a very rough woodcut representing Phyllyp Sparowe's tombe.

All these three copies were formerly in the possession of Sir Francis Freeling, and his fine book-plate is on the inside cover of each of them.

As regards Richard Kele's printing, it is a very open question whether these three books were printed with his types. I am inclined to think that they were not, and, in any case, it is clear that he did not possess a decent fount of type. All his best work was done for him by other printers, such as William Seres, William Copland, and Robert Wyer, the last-mentioned printing for him *The Castle of Love*, a translation from the Spanish made by Lord Berners.

I have somewhere seen, but have lost the reference, that, during his tenancy of the Long Shop, Kele fell into very serious trouble, and was imprisoned in the Compter hard by the Poultry. The entry did not state what his offence was, but it may have had something to do with the publication of the *Prymer in Englysh*, which in 1531 was declared one of the heretical books. The latest date found in any of his publications is 1552,

though he had ceased to print at the Long Shoppe some years before that, having moved to the Eagle in Lombard Street.

Kele was succeeded by John Allde, Alday, or Alde, as the name was variously spelt. This printer was the first whose name was entered in the Registers of the newly-formed Stationers' Company as taking up his freedom. The entry is as follows :—

'1555. Item. Recevyd of John Aldaye for his breakfaste and his benevolence to the hall . . . vj viij.'

and Professor Arber has added this note :—

'From this it would seem that it was customary for each apprentice, as he took-up his freedom, to give a breakfast to the brotherhood, probably then not a very large body; and that this was afterwards compounded for by the payment of half a noble. The above and the next five entries evidently relate to between the 8th of January and the 5th of February 1555. Aldaye therefore was made free in January of that year.'[1]

Two years later the same authority records that 'Alde took an apprentice, John Fylde, but he entered no copies and did not contribute in any way to the funds of the Company until the year 1560. His first book-entry occurs under the date of 1559-1560 :—

'Recyved of John Alde for his lycense for pryntynge of a ballett called "The Defence againste them that commonlye defame women" graunted the xviijth of May [1560].'[2]

From that time, until the day of his death some three-and-twenty years later, he carried on a busy trade at the Long Shop. Every year he entered many copies, and he also printed a great many books that he did not enter. At times he had as many as seven or eight apprentices working for

[1] Arber's *Transcripts;* vol. i. p. 33. [2] *Ibid.* p. 128.

him. Of these, one or two afterwards obtained their freedom and set up for themselves, and one amongst them gave up the intention of being a printer and became a noted writer of dramas and histories. This was Antony Munday. Under the date of 24th August 1576 is the following entry in the Registers. (Arber's *Trans.* vol. ii. p. 69):—

'Anthonie Mondaie sonne of Christofer Mondaye late of London, Draper, Deceased, hath put himself app[re]ntice to John Aldie stationer for eighte yeres, begynnynge at Bartholmewtyde last paste.'

Munday's relations with Alde seem to have been pleasant, for his first work, after he had given up his apprenticeship for literature, the *Mirror of Mutabilitie*, was printed in quarto by his old master.

Alde was essentially a popular printer. The list of his productions, most of them now very scarce, is a lengthy one, by far the greater part being ballads and broadsides from which we may gather a good idea of the events, both political and social, that were the current topics of the day amongst the citizens of London.

The Horrible Acts of Elizabeth Style reads like a poster of the new journalism of to-day, while amongst the ballads we find:—

'*A true Discription of a chylde borne with Ruffles in the parish of Myttcham in Surry.*'[1]

'*A very Lamentable and wofull Discours of the fierce fluds, which lately flowed in Bedfordshire, in Lincolnshire, and in many other places with the great losses of sheep and other cattel, the 5th of October* 1570.'[2]

[1] Arber's *Transcripts*, vol. i. p. 329. Reprinted by Mr. Huth in *Ancient Ballads and Broadsides*, 1867, p. 360.

[2] Arber's *Transcripts*, vol. i. p. 440. Reprinted by Mr. Collier in *Old Ballads*, 1840, p. 78.

'A Ballad entitled "*The Plague that late was in London*," and a Ballad entitled "*The shape of ij monsters.*"'

Side by side with these ephemeral publications we have weightier works, reflecting the strong religious feeling that prevailed amongst the people, and manifested itself in tracts against the Papists, and such works as Bullinger's *Sermons*, and the book ascribed to Catherine Parr, entitled *The Lamentation of a Sinner*. Law books, too, were amongst Alde's printing, and a copy of his *The Rates of the Custom House* was another of the books in the possession of John Brand the antiquary, and now in the Dyce and Forster Library at South Kensington.

There is nothing remarkable about the printing of these books. Being strictly of a popular character, and printed with a view to a quick sale, neither beauty of type nor clearness of setting was to be expected. Moreover, since the days when Banckes occupied this printing-house, several changes, some for the better and some for the worse, had taken place in the art of printing.

New varieties of type had been introduced, notably the Roman and Italic founts. The use of colophons, those quaintly-worded final paragraphs that so often yielded valuable information about the printer and his work, was gradually giving place to the imprint at the foot of the title-page, that too often tells nothing at all, while the elaborate devices commonly used by the earlier printers were being reduced to insignificant proportions.

Nevertheless, John Alde was by no means an indifferent printer. He possessed a considerable variety of types, which he used in combination. These included a fount of 'Great Primer' generally

used for the first line of the title-page; at least three founts of various sizes of black letter, one of them a small clearly-cut fount, noticeable from several

THE LA
mentatiō of a Sin
ner made by the moſt
vertuꝰus Lady Queen Ka=
therin, bewailing the igno=
rance of her blinde life; ſet
fooꝛth and put in ꝓint at
the inſtaunt deſire of the
right gratious Lady Kathe=
rin Duches of Suffolke,
and the ernest requeſt of the
right honoꝛable Lord Wil=
liam Paꝛr, Marqueſſe
of Noꝛthhamp
ton.

TITLE-PAGE OF *THE LAMENTATION OF A SINNER*, WITH ALDE'S MONOGRAM

double letters, such as 'oo,' 'ee,' 'st,' and others, being cast on one body; two founts of Italic, one very bold, seen at its best in Bullinger's *Sermons*,

the other smaller and closer, as in *The Defence of Death*, 1577; and finally, a neat Roman, generally used for quotations. Illustrations are rarely met with in Alde's books, but rough woodcuts are usually found at the head of the ballads. Some good ornamental 12-line initial letters were used by him in printing Munday's *Mirror of Mutabilitie*, a work he appears to have taken some pains with.

His device, if such it can be called, was a geometrical design, with the letters J. A. on either side in a medallion, used as part of a heavy border round the title-page to some of his octavo books. An example of it occurs in *The Lamentation of a Sinner*, already mentioned.

We get many glimpses of the character of John Alde from one source and another. For the first ten years after he began business, he appears to have been constantly in trouble at Stationers' Hall. On one occasion he was fined 3s. 4d. for giving a man work without his master's licence; on another, for selling the *Prognostication of Nostradamus* without licence, and again, a still heavier fine for printing ballads without having entered them. He was one of several printers, who, in 1577, signed a memorial setting forth the grievances arising from the granting of monopolies. In 1568, he was committed to the Compter in the Poultry, with two Dutchmen, for printing a book concerning the Duke of Alva, and appears to have remained a prisoner for at least six months. (*See* Arber, vol. ii. p. 745; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-1580, pp. 320, 332.)

In 1584, or two years after the last book-entry under his name in the Registers, he presented his son Edward as a freeman of the Company 'by patronage,' and after this we see and hear no more of him.

There is no doubt that Edward Alde, or, as he

generally wrote his name, All-de, succeeded to a flourishing business on the retirement of his father. It is also clear that he was himself a hard-working and pushing man. But he left the 'Long Shoppe' in 1589, probably on his marriage, and set up another press at the Gilded Cup in Fore Street, Cripplegate, leaving his mother to carry on the bookselling and printing business at the old house.

Owing to the custom that had grown up of merely placing an imprint at the foot of the title-page, it is impossible to say with certainty what books were printed at the Long Shop after the death of John Alde. Edward Alde's imprints are most unsatisfactory, they simply state the fact that he printed the book, usually for some one else whose address is given, while no mention is made of his own.

Ballads seem to have been his chief work at this time. A few of these have survived to the present day, and are included in such collections as those of Lord Crawford and Mr. Huth.

In later days Alde turned his attention to better work, and we find him printing the writings of Thomas Churchyard, Samuel Daniel, Taylor, the water poet, Thomas Decker, Marlowe, Massinger, and other noted writers of that period. He also printed many books on Navigation and Travels, such as Richard Eden's translation of Martin Cortes' *Art of Navigation*, and Tapp's *Seaman's Kalendar*. Indeed, a list of the books printed by this printer would fill several pages and cover all classes of literature. But nearly the whole of his work was done for others. The publisher and the printer were no longer one and the same, and in conjunction with Edward Alde's name will be found those of nearly every bookseller of the time.

In character his printing differs little from

that of his father. He continued to use the same types, his earlier books being printed in the small lower case black letter, with Italic and Roman for supplementary matter; but his later books are printed throughout in Roman letter, and he appears to have favoured the production of books in quarto rather than smaller sizes.

The younger Alde does not seem to have used any device whatever. His books were rarely illustrated, and their title-pages were often entirely unadorned. Only in ballads or tracts of a very popular character did he ever employ woodcuts. His chief ornament appears to have been a floriated border, which he cut up on occasion and used indifferently for head- and tail-pieces, or as a complete border to the title-page.

Like his father, Edward Alde seems to have infringed the laws of the Company on several occasions; and it is noticeable, as showing the growing power of that Corporation, that the fines inflicted for offences were very much heavier than they had been a few years earlier. For instance, in 1602 Edward Alde was ordered to pay six shillings and eightpence for printing a book without licence, instead of sixpence or a shilling which was the old sum; while another stationer, Thomas Pavior, who had given out the work, was fined no less than thirteen shillings and fourpence, though the matter was ultimately settled for half that sum. (See Arber's *Transcripts*, vol. ii. p. 835.) In 1599 Alde was one of several printers mentioned in an order of the Master and Wardens, against printing certain books that had been condemned and ordered to be burnt by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London (Arber, vol. iii. pp. 677, 678). These prohibited books included John

Marston's *Satire*, Davies's *Epigrams*, and Marlowe's *Elegies*, and all the books of Thomas Nash and Gabriel Harvey. But, in spite of all drawbacks, Edward Alde rose to an important position in the trade, and though he never reached the dignity of a master or warden of his Company, he was several times chosen by the Court to represent the Company at the Lord Mayor's banquet.

The date of his death is uncertain, but, if we may believe a document reproduced by Professor Arber (vol. iii. p. 701) which is dated 1635, it took place about 1628.

Meanwhile the printing-house under Saint Mildred's Church had been carried on by Mistress Alde, but its character was gradually changing until it became chiefly a bookselling-house. In 1602 Margaret Alde transferred the business to Henry Rockett, who had served his time under two stationers, Andrew Wyse and Cuthbert Burby, and had obtained his freedom in January of that year (Arber, vol. ii. pp. 190, 201, 731; vol. v. p. 209 *et seq.*). That he was a bookseller and not a printer is proved by the fact that every known book bearing his name in the imprint is found to have been printed by Edward Alde or others. Amongst the literature which he sold we notice Middleton's comedy, *A Trick to catch the old one*; Heywood's *Fayre Maid of the Exchange*, and Chettle's *Patient Griselda*.

In his turn Henry Rockett was succeeded in the business by his widow Catherine, who carried it on until the year 1616, when she made over all her rights to Nicholas Bourne, another of Cuthbert Burby's apprentices, who was associated with her husband in the production of several books (Arber, vol. iii. p. 586).

Such, as far as I have been able to trace them, are the annals of the 'Longe Shoppe in the Pultrie.' My only regret is that the invaluable 'Bibliographical Summary,' given by Professor Arber in the fifth volume of his *Transcripts*, breaks off at the year 1603. Otherwise I might have been able to continue the history of this old city printing-house down to the time when it was reduced to ashes by the fire of London in 1666.

From the early years of Henry VIII. to the middle of the reign of James I. is a far cry. Great were the changes, political, religious, and social, that took place during that period, and these are faithfully reflected in the literature that issued from this printing-house. It is perhaps needless to say that the only improvement in the character of the printing in 1616 from that of the days of Richard Banckes consists in the greater variety of founts, and in such details as spacing, pagination, and dating of copies. It is generally admitted that printing in England during the seventeenth century did not maintain the high standard reached by Wynkyn de Worde or John Day, and the reasons for this are probably to be found in the eagerness of competition and the miserable restrictions placed upon printing and typefounding by those who should have foreseen their influence and promoted instead of hindering their freedom.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

FLORENTINE BOOK-ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

AS the painted vases of ancient Greece reflected the splendour of Greek art as shown in its sculptured monuments, proving that a fine artistic taste had penetrated the whole nation, so in modern times the Italian illustrated books of the Quattrocento show us how in this golden age a fine artistic feeling was not the privilege of a few persons only, but was common to all but the very lowest.

Book-illustration, more than any other branch of industrial art, is characteristic of the taste of the people, because the demand for it comes from them, and it is especially designed to catch their fancy. Here, then, in the realm of popularised art, the taste of the people is sovereign.

As the Athenian Lecythoi stand foremost amongst the Greek vases, so amongst Italian book-illustrations stand out the Florentine engravings used in books of the Quattrocento. Those relics of ancient Greek painting owe their surpassing importance to the fact that they are all which remain to us to represent it, but the beauty of the Florentine woodcuts is not, I think, depreciated because we may still enjoy the large frescoes and other paintings of contemporary Florentine artists. Never again, I am sure, has art, with all its refinements of technique, reached in book-illustrations the same pitch of artistic perfection which, in their

unpretentious simplicity, the best woodcuts in the Florentine books of the Quattrocento, the true 'golden age' of Italian art, never fail to exhibit.

Even in the first point we have to consider, the class of books in which we may expect to find engravings, Florentine art shows its superiority over that of the other Italian cities. In books printed at Florence the use of woodcuts is almost exclusively confined to popular poetical works and religious tracts. Florentine printers of the fifteenth century had the good taste not to adorn scientific or historical works with engravings merely to attract the public, a custom much abused by printers of other towns and countries. In the 'golden age' Florentine printers possessed a refinement of feeling which led them to a wise discrimination as to what books might rightly have cuts and what not. In the same way Florentine illustrated books of the best period are distinguished by the economy with which cuts were used. The original editions of the Rappresentazioni, the Savonarola tracts, or of popular poems, have rarely more than one cut, that on the title-page, but this is almost invariably expressly designed and carefully executed for the book, and is in artistic correspondence with the size and form of the letter-press. It was only at a later date, when the printers worked solely to produce great numbers of books, when they had at their disposal a large stock of earlier cuts, and were content to produce mere copies or bad and cheap originals, that they began to overcrowd their books with cuts of every kind and with unintelligently-selected copies.

We can easily observe what a serious matter the question of book-illustration was to the great Florentine printers. Only after a series of experi-

ments did they arrive at the system of their final adoption, a system which afterwards enjoyed so long a life. At first they tried to make use of the fine technique of the copper-engraving for the illustrations of printed books. Some of these early books having copper-engravings, especially the *Monte Santo di Dio* of Bettini (1477) and the *Dante* (1481), are celebrated enough. But apparently the printers perceived not only that the difficulties of inserting engravings into their book were too great, but also that for printed books woodcuts, which are so much more in harmony with the character of the type, were the only proper means of illustration, whether from an artistic or a technical point of view. A century later, with the decline both of artistic taste, and of the art of wood-engraving, copper-engravings again took the place of woodcuts in printed books, but it is only in some of the French illustrated poems and romances of the eighteenth century that good taste, and that more on the part of the printer than of the engraver, has succeeded in securing any real accordance between the type and the plates. It is thus a true artistic instinct which has led modern book-illustrators to return to the old fashion of illustration, which, whether in the form of woodcuts proper or in some of the numerous methods of producing the same effect by mechanical processes, once more reigns supreme. But with all their technical skill, even the best European and American wood-engravers, although producing works of considerable intrinsic artistic merit, have never succeeded in uniting illustrations and letterpress in one artistic whole. The old book-illustrators adopted for their purpose a distinct style both in drawing and in execution; more modern artists have introduced the monu-

mental style of art and the imitation of brush-work. The differences are of the same kind as may be observed when we compare old Italian 'fayence' and modern painted porcelain vases.

The good taste of the old book-illustrators told them that for printed books simple outline drawing, light and sketchy in execution, was more suitable than the heavy and more minute work of the illuminated manuscript. In Italian illustrated books we rarely find the woodcuts coloured, nor can we trace any relation, either in design or in execution, between woodcuts and the miniatures of the same subjects in manuscripts. This is an important point, when we remember that the woodcuts in printed books were the direct successors of the illuminations in manuscripts.

The secret of the charm in these old illustrations lies, I think, not only in the simplicity of their execution, but in the absence of pretension in the design. They generalise the scene they have to represent as much as possible; they do not attempt minute portrayal of some special event told in the text, but give only what is essential to the main story. Here, then, the picture is no longer 'the writing of those who can not read.' The reader knows all about the particular fact from the text before him, he does not need it repeated in a concrete form in order that he may understand it. The woodcut therefore seeks, not to make an exact reproduction of the scene told in the text, but to speak more impressively to the religious feeling or to the imagination of the reader than the words alone are able to do, to lead his mind in a certain direction, to stimulate his imagination, not to bind or force it, as is the way with modern illustrators. For this reason these woodcuts could, without

injuring the artistic impression, be used for many similar scenes.

The Florentine artists of the fifteenth century have been,—not by means of reflection, but from pure artistic feeling,—more successful in this point than any other book-illustrators. We never, or only in extremely rare instances, find in Florentine books inscriptions on the cuts to enable us to identify the scene with the special story of the text. Far from attempting this, the Florentine artists endeavoured to make their cuts into little pictures, each having an artistic value and meaning of its own, well-rounded compositions, complete in themselves, with backgrounds of landscape or of architectural interiors, calculated to give an impression of a perfect picture. It is of special importance as bearing on this point to note that nearly all Florentine woodcuts are surrounded by a little border; this border is rarely to be found in other than Florentine work, and when found elsewhere we notice that it is only used when the cuts serve as title-page ornaments. These borders are so characteristic of the Florentine woodcuts and form so intimate a part of them, that even their variations are seen to follow similar variations in the style of the cuts themselves.

We can hardly sufficiently admire the fine taste by which the Florentine printers were guided in the method of inserting these cuts in the printed text, or in placing them on the title-page, thus securing that the proportions of the cuts should be exactly suited to the type, and that the letterpress should be arranged around them in an artistic manner.

The size of most of the cuts is about 70 by 100 millimetres (or *vice versa*), a proportion which is very harmonious and well adapted to the size of the

printed text, mostly a small quarto. In Florentine books the cuts never break into the text perpendicularly, as do the little cuts in many Venetian books, but run the whole breadth of the letterpress. We can cite but one important exception to this rule, the *Epistole et Evangeli* of 1495, but it has to be noticed that here the cuts are placed only at the beginning of each chapter and side by side with each is placed another little cut with the bust of an apostle, or prophet, to fill up the space.

As a special group, showing in a very marked manner all the characteristics of Florentine book-illustration, we may cite the Rappresentazioni. From the beginning of printing until the present day, Florentine printers have been employed in their production; so that they may be traced through all the vicissitudes of the printer's art in Florence. The earliest editions of these tracts, which reproduce the sacred plays represented on certain Saints' days, are all undated and without cuts. The increasing demand of the public for illustrated books induced the printers to publish these little leaflets, consisting generally of from four to six leaves, with the addition of woodcuts. These illustrated editions of the last ten years of the fifteenth century, all undated and without signatures, possess a classic beauty and simplicity which have made them of late years widely appreciated and sought for by amateurs. Like most books of the time they have no title-page in our modern sense of the word, but on the first page under the title, consisting only of one or two lines printed in the same type as the text, we see the figure of the angel who announces the play, and under this cut there is a second representing the saint of the play in some characteristic scene of his life.

Towards the turn of the century the printers sometimes illustrated the text with other cuts representing different scenes in the life of the saint. Then they began to use cuts from other plays or books and, by a rapid degeneration, the text became overcrowded with cuts of every description; some from old blocks, others carelessly recut, and badly executed new ones. As late as the seventeenth century in the Rappresentazioni, we still meet with reprints and copies of the Quattrocento woodcuts; fortunately these reprints are outside the limits of this article. Of a considerable number of Rappresentazioni we possess the original edition, and these, of course, show us the original form and the primitive design of the cuts. Where the original editions (which in all cases are very rare) have not been preserved, and the plays are known only in later editions of the sixteenth century, the woodcuts in these later editions show that earlier copies must have existed. Out of about eighty-five Rappresentazioni, most of which were reprinted many times, I know about fifty in the original editions and about thirty-five in editions only of the middle of the sixteenth century. These late editions of the Rappresentazioni and other popular poems are of special importance for our study because many early cuts survive only in them, the books for which they were originally executed having been lost or perhaps not yet having been discovered by us.

To appreciate the artistic value of the Florentine woodcuts, we must find the right point of view from which to examine them. In the first place they serve to adorn the printed text, to brighten the page by breaking up the monotony of the letterpress in books designed not for study but for religious edification or for amusement, and for the people,

not for the refined taste of the 'Signori.' The woodcut had to form a point of repose for the eyes of the reader, where he might stop and collect his thoughts; it was to act as a help to his imagination to enable him to present to himself in a concrete form the contents of the chapter he was reading.

The woodcut therefore was not intended to have either the finish or the artistic value of a picture. Whilst the Quattrocento artist in general found his problem not in the invention of new compositions but in the purely artistic and formal elaboration of conventional types, the designer of woodcuts sought to give effective, concise, and telling representations of a variety of scenes for the most part never attempted by the painters and sculptors. The elaboration of single natural forms, the great problem of the Quattrocento, could not be either intended or attempted by the technique available to the woodcutter, nor within the limits of the space allotted to him; at least this could not form his chief object. In the drawing of the single form, in detail, in the representation of movement, etc., the artists of our wood-engravings for the most part are not independent, but follow the conventional manner and traditions of the schools, depicting nature as she had hitherto been depicted by the great masters. But the skill and good taste which enable them to use their knowledge in giving a clear and precise idea of the facts represented in the scenes they portray are worthy of all admiration. As instances of woodcuts in which the artists have undoubtedly borrowed from older masters we may cite the cut in the *Epistole et Evangeli*, in which St. Thomas is represented feeling the wounds of Christ, borrowed from the celebrated group of Verrecchio in Or S. Michele in Florence (Cut 1), and

(1) FROM THE *EPISTOLE ET EVANGELI*, 1495

(2) FROM THE *EPISTOLE ET EVANGELI*, 1495

that of the decapitation of S. John, copied from one of Pollaiuolo's embroideries from the Battistero in Florence (Cut 2). But even in these instances the artist, though undoubtedly copying, succeeded in giving to these borrowed figures the distinct touch of his own style, so that it needs some skill to detect their origin. But besides these borrowed or conventional figures a great many of the cuts reveal also quite a large number of figures, bits of movement and composition which must be considered the exclusive invention of the artist who designed them. There were so many special points to be brought out to illustrate the special scene selected that the artist, no doubt, had recourse to his own artistic fancy and powers of observation. The designers in nearly every case showed themselves equal to their task and quite abreast with the art of their time.

It may be useful if we again refer to examples. Thus the design for the cut in the *Epistole et Evangeli*, in which the two apostles are hastening to the tomb of Christ, must have been the work of a really fine artist. One of the apostles has reached the tomb and with an expression of astonishment perceives it is empty, the other behind him is aware of the fact but must go and see with his own eyes, and has not quite given himself up to the surprise which is betrayed by the first (Cut 3). This composition shows such originality of invention, and is represented with such powerful artistic feeling, with such dramatic simplicity and clearness of movement and expression, that we may boldly call it a masterpiece of art.

There is another cut which shows us Lucretia standing proudly upright and driving the dagger into her breast in the presence of her kinsmen, who with various expressions of terror are rising from

(3) FROM THE *EPISTOLE ET EVANGELI*, 1495

(4) FROM THE *HIST. E MORTE DI LUCRETIA*, S.A.

their seats (Cut 4). The scene is one of really great dramatic effect; even the fallen stool in the empty foreground contributes to give the impression of a sudden trouble.

As another characteristic example may be mentioned the cut which represents the murder of Gian Galleazzo Visconti (Cut 5). The different groups show minute observation of nature and a great variety of dramatic motive. Or we may take again the scene, quite different in character, but of special charm, in which two youths and a boy are singing in a chapel before an image of the Virgin, whilst some gallants are listening to them. Through the open door we see across the street into a tradesman's shop, where two men have stopped their work to listen to the music, and the whole effect of the little picture is that of a charming religious idyll (Cut 6).

I cannot refrain from mentioning at least one other cut of which the artistic value of the drawing is great. It is a simple battle scene (from Pulci's *Morgante*) in which we see a knight on horseback knocking down a giant with his shield (Cut 7). The movement of the knight, as well as of the horse (seen from behind in a complicated movement), is given with a rare vivacity and truth and should be noted as showing a very fine and artistic observation of nature.

We could furnish quite a considerable number of other cuts, all original and finished pieces of composition (of which we have given examples in our reproductions) to show that there is so much originality of motive, such a wealth of imagination, so much spirit, vigour, and sentiment in many of the groups or the single figures, as will enable them always to hold a place in the history of art. We must not forget that at the time of which we are

(5) FROM THE *LAMENTO DEL DUCA GALEAZZO SFORZA*, 1505.

(6) FROM THE *LIBRO DI LAUDE* (PACINI), S.A.

speaking, ways of looking at Nature, which have now become commonplaces of art, were then new, were in fact discoveries, possible only to real artists. Our sense of this freshness of inspiration is a distinct element in our enjoyment of art. To be brought thus face to face with the first expression of an artistic idea places us in personal contact with the artist, and

7) FROM PULCI'S *MORGANTE MAGGIORE*, 1500

from our sympathy with his happiness in creation we obtain a greater pleasure than from the technical skill of the most successful imitators.

Though the character of the technique did not lend itself to minute elaboration of single figures we still find in the Florentine artists a special aptitude not only for giving character to the figures by means of a few lines, but also for making delicate and detailed drawings of single parts of the whole, especially of the hands and feet. Florentine

(8) FROM THE *EPISTOLE ET EVANGELI*, 1495 (*F.* 22*a*)

(9) FROM THE *EPISTOLE ET EVANGELI*, 1495 (*F.* 44*a*)

woodcutters are sometimes particularly successful in the drawing and cutting of the hands both as to form and movement, overcoming a difficulty known to all artists. On the other hand we must admit that, in many cases, in a special group of cuts too much importance is given to detail, the engraver being too fond of showing his technical skill in this way, and doing so to the injury of the general effect of his work.

If we try to picture to ourselves the workshops of the craftsmen who executed these admirable woodcuts, and so find out their methods of working, the question arises, in what relation did the wood-cutters stand to the printers? A knowledge of the publisher and printers should surely help us to distinguish and to characterise the different work-shops and the different engravers who worked in them. But the idea has to be given up. There is in general no relation between the individual printers and the various groups of engraver-artists. We see cuts identical in style and clearly by the same hand, in books printed by different printers; we even see the same cuts used by different printers and publishers. Moreover, a very large number of the Florentine books with woodcuts contain no mention of the printer's name, or they note either the printer alone or the publisher alone, so that we cannot be certain that a book signed with the printer's name may not have been published by some one else who lent the cuts, or that others, giving only the name of the publisher, may not have been printed by another printer.

A careful examination of all the cuts used by the different printers who worked for a certain publisher, or of those used by the publishers for whom these printers worked, does not help us to form any

(10) FROM THE *EPISTOLE ET EVANGELI*, 1495 (*F.* 90*a*)

(11) FROM THE *EPISTOLE ET EVANGELI*, 1495 (F. 93*a*)

conclusion as to the relation of individual wood-engravers with printers. So far from being able to state which engravers worked for which printers, we cannot even, in very many cases, say for which books the cuts were originally executed. As we have already noticed, the subjects of the engravings are treated in so broad a manner that they could easily serve for many different scenes. It is not possible, therefore, to decide for which book a particular cut, or a particular series of cuts, was originally designed, and yet such a decision would necessarily play an important part in the artistic and bibliographical study of book-illustrations. Sometimes we can show that one state of a certain cut is earlier or later than another, by the better preservation or signs of greater use of the block; but, as Florentine books of this period are extremely rare, we have seldom the opportunity of examining together different examples of the same cut. In most cases all we can do is to distinguish between original prints and the worn impressions of the middle of the sixteenth century.

There is only one publisher in Florence whose cuts are of a distinctive type; but he is far from being the best, and must be considered as an exception serving only to prove the general rule. The numerous books from the press of Francesco di Giovanni Benvenuto (who worked from about 1511 till 1546) nearly all signed with his full name, contain for the most part, cuts of a certain stiffness of drawing and smoothness of line, which we may attribute to a single hand. But most of these are not original compositions, but copies from earlier cuts. Benvenuto clearly had amongst his workmen a careful but rather weak cutter who worked exclusively for him. The books of all the

(12) FROM THE *RAPPRESENTAZIONE DI S. VENANTIO*, S.A.

(13) FROM THE *RAPPRESENTAZIONE DI S. VENANTIO*, S.A.
(*Originally designed for a San Paulino*)

other printers show cuts of various styles by various hands, so that we can but conclude that there must have been different workshops of engravers who executed cuts for different printers according to their orders.

But even under these conditions the printer or publisher cannot be said to have had no influence on the manner in which his book was illustrated; he was responsible at least for the choice of the office or artist to which he entrusted the work, and for the way in which he incorporated the cuts into his book. I think that this influence of the paymaster on the illustration of the book is shown by Piero Pacini da Pescia, the most energetic and most careful of Florentine publishers. As far as we can guess from the dates of his books he worked from 1495 to 1514, when his business was carried on by his son, who signed books from 1519 to 1523, and used the cuts from his father's books. Piero Pacini apparently took a special interest in the printing and illustration of the books he published. Nearly all the important books with woodcuts came from his office, as for instance the *Esope*, the *Epistole et Evangeli*, Pulci's *Morgante*, Frezzi's *Quadrireggio*, etc. No book was issued from his house without adornment of some sort, though in some cases the ornament consisted only of a fine border to the first page or of his publisher's mark, which by itself is sufficient to stamp him as a man of taste. In all his publications we meet with little or no work which is not excellent, or at any rate very good, and we never find in his books rude or badly executed cuts, or cuts of the later and weaker type, or imitations of the Venetian style, although he continued to work at a time when cuts of this description had become prevalent. Thus if we may

(14) FROM THE *RAPPRESENTAZIONE DE LA ANNUNTIATIONE*, S.A.

(15) FROM THE *RAPPRESENTAZIONE DI S. GUGLIELMO*, 1572

not credit Pacini with any actual personal craftsmanship, we must at least be grateful to him for having had the skill to choose the best artists for his work and to pay them liberally.

The extent to which Florentine book-illustration is indebted to the taste and intelligence of Piero Pacini may be tested by comparing his books with those of other printers. We have already mentioned Francesco di Giov. Benvenuto, who only used cuts of small artistic value. Not to speak of later printers who used old blocks, worn or damaged by worms, there is at least one of the most important Florentine publishers who did but deface his nicely printed books by the few cuts which he introduced into them. Quite in contrast to his relatives in Venice, Filippo Giunta, who published some illustrated books between 1500 and 1519, used only cuts of little artistic value, in some instances imitations of the later Venetian style or copies of earlier engravings, in other reprints from original blocks used by earlier printers.

A comparison of this sort goes to prove that publishers and printers played rather an important part in the ornamentation of their books, and consequently in the development of the art of wood-engraving. It will therefore be helpful if I give here some notes on the more important printers who published or printed books with woodcuts in Florence in the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

FRANCESCO BUONACORSI printed from 1489 to 1496 nine illustrated books signed with his name. In 1489 he printed a book with woodcut initials in conjunction with Antonius Venetus. The four books of the year 1496 are all printed for Piero Pacini; of

the others we do not know if he printed them for a publisher or at his own expense. His signature is always 'per' ('stampato per F. B.'). All the cuts in his books are very fine and of considerable importance.

FRANCESCO DI DINO printed only two[1] books with cuts; one in 1490, the other 1493, both signed by him with 'per.'

LORENZO MORGIANI and GIOVANNI DI PIERO DA MAGONZA printed between 1491 and 1497 seventeen books with very fine cuts. They always signed with 'per.' One of the three books printed in 1496, and two of those dated 1497, are printed by Lorenzo Morgiani alone. Two books (1496) printed by them together, and two dated 1495, as also one of 1497, were executed for Piero Pacini.

ANTONIO MISCOMINI printed fourteen books with cuts between 1492 and 1494 (one undated). There is no indication in any of the books that it was printed for any other publisher. He signs with 'per.' His cuts are nearly all fine.

PIERO PACINI DA PESCIA always called himself publisher. His books were printed by Francesco Buonacorsi, Lorenzo Morgiani and Giovanni da Magonza, Lorenzo Morgiani alone, Giovanni Stefano da Pavia and Bernardo Zucchetta. We note forty-five books published and signed by him.

FILIPPO GIUNTA published fifteen books with cuts from 1500 to 1519. After this date his *eredi* continue his business.

BERNARDO ZUCCHETTA printed eleven books between 1505 to 1523 always for other printers,

[1] *i.e.* only two with his name.

for Piero Pacini, Bernardo Pacini, and for Francesco di Jacopo Libraio. One of his books, undated and signed only with his printer's mark (see Kristeller's *Italienische Buchdruckerzeichen*, No. 62.), bears the enigmatic inscription: 'Nell' inclita monarchia di terra rossa.' Another book (*Rappresentazione di Valentino e Giuliano*) bears simply the words, 'Stampata nella inclita monarchia di città Rossa.'

FRANCESCO DI JACOPO LIBRAIO, vocato il Conte Cortolaio, published nine illustrated books between 1509 and 1533. These were printed for him by Bern. Zucchetta and Antonio Tubini and Andrea de Ghirlandis.

ANTONIO TUBINI and ANDREA DE GHIRLANDIS DA PISTOIA would seem by their signatures or by their mark (*op. cit.* No. 56) to have printed nine books with cuts of which one (1509) is printed for Francesco di Jacopo Libraio, another dated (1516) and two more dated respectively 1517 and 1518, as well as two others undated, for Francesco di Giovanni Benvenuto.

FRANCESCO DI GIOVANNI BENVENUTO has already been mentioned. He is simply a publisher '(fece stampare),' and brought out fifty-three illustrated books between 1511 and 1546. The names of the printers of these books are not given, but in six of them we find the mark of Antonio Tubini and Andrea de Ghirlandis.

GIOVANNI STEFANO DA PAVIA was exclusively a printer. We have ten books with his name printed between 1511 and 1520, of which one was executed for Lionardo di Neri di Andrea Cartolaio (1511), one for Michele Caccini (1512), one for 'N' (1512),

three for Piero Pacini (1513, 1514), one for 'A' (1516), and one for Bernardo Pacini (1520).

ZANOBI DELLA BARBA always called himself a publisher ('fece stampare'). In one of the twenty-two books published under his name, we find the mark of Antonio Tubini and Andrea de Ghirlandis. His books are undated, but he is evidently a sixteenth century publisher and uses only cuts of the later smooth and round style.

We see that the number of books containing information as to the publisher or printer is very small in comparison with the large number of illustrated books printed in Florence without any indication of the printer. Moreover there must be a large number of old editions either entirely lost or not yet discovered by us. Of Boccaccio's *Ninfale Fiesolano*, for instance, we know only a later edition of 1568 with cuts evidently of the fifteenth century. Of course there must have existed a fifteenth century edition for which the cuts were made, but no copy of this has as yet been found. Some of the woodcuts of the *Fior di Virtù* of 1498, which by their style would be considered as amongst the earliest Florentine illustrations, occur in books printed some years earlier; proving the existence of an earlier edition. Of the Rappresentazioni only a part are preserved in the original editions, and in all probability this is the case with many other works also. These facts are not surprising when we remember that books of this class were used by the people, who destroyed or neglected them, and that until recently they have never been collected into libraries. Of old editions of the classics and of scientific books many copies have been preserved, but of the popular illustrated books (except in the

cases where their devotional character commanded a certain respect) the most are known only in very few copies, while many are unique. For the above reasons it is as we have said difficult to make any classification of the cuts according to the printers who used them. From our notes of the printers, however, we can at least state that the publishers who sign as publishers (with 'fece stampare,' 'ad instantiam,' 'a petitione,' 'impensis,' etc.), and have their books printed by other printers, never appear as printers in books published by other publishers. We may conclude, therefore, that these printers were exclusively publishers, and that by the end of the fifteenth century the separation of printer from publisher was an accomplished fact, though some books may have been printed by printers at their own expense.

From the special character of the Florentine woodcuts in books, differing from the few single-leaf cuts we know, we may gather that there were in Florence some wood-engravers' offices, or shops which worked especially for book-illustration, which were quite independent of any particular printer, but worked for any one who gave orders and would pay for their execution. In the same way as we see from the day-book of the printing-press of S. Jacopo di Ripoli, that the monks ordered the miniatures for their books from the studios of certain artists, so we have every reason to believe that publishers or printers, whilst printing a book, ordered the cuts destined for its adornment to be executed in an engraver's office, and did not have them made by workmen employed in their own printing-office. There are often great differences in the technical execution of the different woodcuts published in the same book and expressly designed

for that book. Even in a small series of cuts we can often distinguish not only differences in the quality of the work, but distinctly different hands of different artistic skill. Furthermore, we notice series of drawings of which the style is undoubtedly the same, but the execution different. From this we conclude that, as a rule, the designer and the cutter are different persons. We can observe, for instance, that the cuts of the *Epistole et Evangeli* of 1495 (except those taken from other books) are all drawn in the same style, but there are such great differences in the execution that we cannot suppose these to arise only from the greater or lesser care bestowed upon them by the cutter. In the same way we notice great differences in the technique of the single cuts in the *Libro degli Scacchi*, in the *Morgante*, and in other books. In the *Esope* of 1495 we can easily distinguish three different styles belonging to artists whose aims as well as their technique were altogether different. All that we have said, however, does not make it impossible to believe that, in some cases, the engravers may have been also the designers of their own work.

From this difference in the execution of cuts of the same series and due to the hand of a single designer there is still one other conclusion of some importance for our subject which may be deduced. The artists did not themselves draw on the wood, as was done for example by Albrecht Dürer, and thus reduce the task of the cutter to the careful cutting along the lines given him. The freedom with which the cutters appear to have treated their designs makes it probable that they worked only from the sketches of the artist who lent them his composition, which they had full liberty to modify, according to the style of their technique. But the

continuous co-operation between artists and engravers will of course have sensibly lessened the differences between the reproductions and the style of the original drawings which served as their models.

PAUL KRISTELLER.

APPENDIX

FOR the sake of students of *Incunabula*, I append the following list of illustrated fifteenth century books printed at Florence, in which the name or device of a printer or publisher has been given.

FRANCESCO BUONACORSI

s.a. Lorenzo di Medici. Rappresentazione di S. Giovanni e Paolo.

A MS. note in a copy at Ferrara shows that this was printed before 27th March 1497.

1489 (13 Kal. Jun.). Psalterium Latinum.

Printed in conjunction with Antonius Venetus.

1490. Jacopone da Todi. Laudi.

1495 (18 Aug.). Savonarola. Compendio di Revelazione.

1495 (5 Non. Oct.). [Another edition.]

1496 (4 Kal. Mai.). * Savonarola. Expositio Psalmi lxxviiii.

1496 (10 May). * Monte dell' Oratione.

1496 (28 May). * Dom. Benivieni. Tractato in defensione della doctrina di Savonarola.

1496 (17 Sept.). * Esopo.

* These four were all printed for Pacini.

FRANCESCO DI DINO

1490 (27 March). Dom. Cavalca. Specchio di Croce.

1493 (5 June). Augustine. Sermoni.

LORENZO MORGIANI E GIOVANNI DI PIERO DA MAGONZA

S.A. Savonarola. Operetta soprai dieci commandamenti.

1491 (20 March). Bettini. Monte Santo di Dio.

,, (1 Sept.). Ber. de Granolachis. Lunare.

1491/2 (1 Jan.). F. Calandri. Arithmetica.

1492 (7 June). Mandeville. Tractato.

,, (15 Decemb.). Ugo Pantiera. Tractati.

1493 (23 May). Antonino. Tractato: Curam illius habe.

1493 (4 Sept.). Cavalca. Frutti di lingua.

149 3/4 (17 Febr.). Libro di compagnia ovvero fraternita dei battuti.

1494 (28 June). Cherubino da Spoleto. Della vita spirituale.

1495 (27 July). *Epistole et Evangeli.

149 5/6 (27 Jan.). *Bernard. Sermoni volgari.

1496. †*B. di Granollachis. Lunare.

,, (26 Nov.). †*Vita Viduale.

149 6/7 (22 Feb.). *Antonino. Tractato: Defecerunt.

1497 (12 Kal. Mai.). †*Raph. Petr. de Cerchis. Il Birracino.

1497 (11 June). †*Francis of Assisi. Fioretti.

* These were published by Pacini.
† These were printed by Morgiani only.

Antonio Miscomini

s.a. Bonaventura. Meditazione sopra la Passione.

1492. Crist. Landini. Formulario di Lettere.

1492 (26 June). Savonarola. Tractato dell' Amore di Jesu.

1492 (30 June). Savonarola. Tractato dell' umiltà.

1492 (20 Octob.). Savonarola. Sermone dell' oratione.

1493 (1 March). Jac. de Cessolis. Libro di Giucho dei Scacchi.

1493 (Non. Jun.). Zac. Lilius. Breviarium Orbis.

1493 (21 June). Augustine. Sermoni volgari.

1493 (22 July). Thomas à Kempis. Imitatio Christi.

1494. Marco del Monte. Libro delli commandamenti.

1494 (10 April). Bucoliche di diversi.

1494 (15 May). Marco del Monte. La Tabula della salute.

1494 (1 July). Thomas à Kempis. Della Imitatione di Christo.

1494 (17 July). Honorius Augustodunensis. Lucidario.

Pietro Pacini (publisher)

The following thirteen books are undated, but may be safely assigned to the fifteenth century, the *Florio e Biancifiore*, *Savio Romano*, and *S. Venantius* being the least certain. Those marked with an asterisk have only his device, not his name.

*Boccaccio. Florio e Biancifiore.

Libro di Laudi.

Libro di Lazaro e Martha e Magdalena.

Libro di Mercatanzie.

Mandeville. Tractato delle piu meravigliose cose.

*Psalterio abreviato di Sancto Hieronymo.

Pulci (Luca). Epistole.

Pulci (Luigi) and Matteo Franco. Sonetti.

Rappresentazione di S. Agata.

Rappresentazione di S. Venantius.

Regula di S. Francesco.

*Il Savio Romano.

*Thortus (Cæsar) Esculanus. D. Andreæ Matheo Marchioni Betontino, etc.

To the following four dated books we must add the four printed for Pacini by Buonaccorsi and the six printed by Morgiani and Piero da Magonza.

1496 (23 April). Savonarola. Compendio di Revelazione.

1496 (18 July). Augustine. Soliloquii.

Printed 'appresso da sancta Maria Maggiore.'

1496 (5 Kal. Sept.). Savonarola. De simplicitate Christianæ vitæ.

1496 (10 Sept.). Petrarch. Trionfi.

The *Morgante Maggiore* of Luigi Pulci, dated 22 Jan. 1500 [*i.e.* $150\frac{0}{1}$], belongs to the next century..

P. K.

ENGLISH BOOK-SALES, 1681-86

IN the first four and a half years (1676-1680) of the history of the book-sale in England, which I reviewed in Part III. of *Bibliographica*, only seventeen sales took place. By the beginning of 1681 the fashion was fully established, and between this date and July 13, 1686, when Thomas Cooper issued his list, we have to record no less than fifty-seven sales. To examine all these in detail would merely be wearisome, and I must therefore content myself with printing the list, year by year, and appending a few notes, where I have been fortunate enough to meet with a priced catalogue, or where the owners of the books dispersed were men of some reputation.

The book-sales which took place during 1681 were as follows:—

18. Ed. Palmer, Esq., Feb. 14, $168\frac{0}{1}$.
19. D. Th. Jessop, D. Castel, } Feb. 21, $168\frac{0}{1}$.
20. M. Sam. Brook, Mar. 21, $168\frac{0}{1}$.
21. M. Geo. Lawson, M. Geo. Fawkes, M. Ow. Stockden, M. Th. Brooks, } May 30, 1681.
22. Pet. Cardonell, June 6, 1681.
23. M. Nic. Lloyd, July 4, 1681.
24. D. N. Paget, Oct. 4, 1681.
25. M. R. Button, M. Th. Owen, M. Will. Hoel, } Nov. 7, 1681.
26. Hen. Parker, Dec. 5, 1681.
27. D. Will. Outram, D. Th. Gataker, } Dec. 12, 1681.

Of these ten sales there are three, numbers 19,

22, and 24, of which I have never been able to obtain the catalogues. The D. Castel, whose name occurs in conjunction with that of Jessop, may very probably be Dr. Edmund Castell, author of the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* of 1669, who died in 1685, and whose library, as we shall see, was dispersed the following year at Cambridge. His *Lexicon* had cost him eighteen years of toil, at the rate of some sixteen hours a day, and no less than £12,000 in literary help, books, and printing. So little interest was taken in his work that after its completion many of the subscribers did not trouble to send for their copies, and in moving about from one poor living to another he may well have been inclined to raise money by parting with some of his books.

Taking the other sales of 1681 in their order we note that Palmer's catalogue occupies but eight pages, with no entries of interest, while about Mr. Samuel Brook I have no information. The next auction is chiefly notable for the curious preface, which Edward Millington, who presided at it, inserted in the catalogue, and which I print in full:—

'This Catalogue,' he writes, 'contains the Libraries of these four Worthy and Learned Persons mentioned in the Title Page, the first of which Mr. George Lawson was a person of such Universal Learning and general esteem that the works that already are extant of him, and those that he hath left perfected under his own hand for the Presse, shall stop my pen, and supersede my intention of giving a larger Character of him.[1] The other three, Mr. George Fawler, Mr. Owen Stockdon, and Mr. Thomas Brooks, men of real worth and goodness, well esteemed for their Learning and Piety, in the places where they conversed, that I question not but the well disposed, and the Learned will give us such incouragement in the Sale by Bidding in some measure to the value of the Books so exposed, as may further incourage and keep on foot such a Commendable and Serviceable a way of Sale (as this of Auction is) to the great purposes of promoting Learning and Knowledge. Which

[1] He was Rector of More Salop, and the author of an examination of the political part of Hobbes's *Leviathan*.

when I consider I cannot but wonder, that so many persons have appeared at our Auctions, and buy with a great freedom to the injury of others (that are truly Conscientious to pay for, and fetch away the Books so bought); yet in most Auctions have hitherto neglected to fetch away and pay for their own: To the end therefore that they may know, we will not be damaged after so great expences, as inevitably attends the management of an Auction; we do intend to Prosecute them according to Law if forthwith they do not send for their Books, or give us some reasonable satisfaction. To prevent any abuses for the future that may happen to other gentlemen who suffer by this unhansome practice (of having Books bought out of their hands by persons that never will or perhaps never designed to fetch them away;) We shall at a convenient time for the further satisfaction of gentlemen, give an account of their Names, and desire their absence if any of them happen to be present.'

The owners of the other libraries sold during this year were not men of great importance. Peter Cardonell was the author of a poem entitled *Fagus, sive Epithalamium Caroli II.* Nicholas Lloyd was an old Winchester boy, who had become subwarden of Wadham and Rector of Carfax, and had ended his days as Rector of S. Mary, Newington. His chief literary work was a *Dictionarium Historicum*, published at Oxford in 1670, and his sale shows that he possessed a good general library. Among his books were a *Dives and Pauper* of 1493 which sold for 2s. 4d., and a *Gower* of 1522 which fetched just a shilling more. Ralph Button had been a Canon of Christ Church and Public Orator under the Commonwealth, but lost his preferments at the Restoration, kept school for some time at Brentford, and died at Islington. Thankfull Owen was the editor of Goodwin's works, and as a President of St. John's College, Oxford, has claims on the affectionate respect of the present writer. Will. Hoel may be identified with William Howell, Vicar of Fittleworth, Sussex. Between them the three divines possessed most of the standard theological

works of the day, and these fetched good prices; but we may find more amusement in noting that the 1613 edition of Bacon's *Essays* sold for fivepence, Waller's *Poems* (1645) for just twice that sum, and the first edition of *Paradise Regained* for 2s. 2d. The British Museum copy of the catalogue belonged to Millington, the auctioneer, and contains not only the prices and purchasers' names, but some memoranda. Two of these are receipts by persons whose names we find among the bidders for money received from Millington for various books. At first sight this seems a reversal of what we should expect, but after the first few sales the auctioneers had renounced the right of making bids themselves, lest they should be accused of running up prices, and Millington had obviously employed these friends to bid for him.

Passing on to the last sale of the year, we note that Outram was a Canon of Westminster, and had written a work, *De Sacrificiis*, published in 1677, while Gataker was a voluminous writer on theology during the earlier part of the century. On August 1, 1654, his friend, Simeon Ashe, had preached his funeral sermon, subsequently printed under the title, *Gray hayres crowned with grace*, and the preface to the catalogue explains that the death which had occasioned the sale was that of his son, though the library in the meantime had been sadly impaired by the Great Fire.

For some reason, now not easily explained, only five book-sales took place during 1682, or just half the number of those in the previous year. The five sales were those of

28. Robert Croke, Esq., Feb. 23, 168½.
29. Mr. Rich. Smith, May 15, 1682.
30. Walt. Rea, Esq., June 19, 1682.

31. John Parsons, Nov. 30, 1682.
32. John Humphry, etc., Dec. 4, 1682.

Of Croke nothing is known, but with Richard Smith we come to one of the very few of these early sales which has attracted much attention. Smith was born at Lillingston, Dayrell, Bucks, about 1590, and from 1644 to 1655 held the office of Secondary of the Poultry Compter, a post equivalent to that of under-sheriff, and worth £700 a year. For many years he kept an obituary of his acquaintances, which was edited for the Camden Society in 1849, with a brief memoir, in which will be found some notes on his books. On his death, in 1675, hopes had been entertained that his library would be secured for some institution, but it was now sold by Chiswell, 'to the great reluctance,' says Anthony Wood, 'of public spirited men.' No such collection had previously been brought under the hammer in England. In addition to the usual theological and classical works, which it would be tedious to enumerate, Smith had acquired many of the books which are still esteemed by collectors. Thus he possessed a copy of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* (1486), which sold for 19s., and a *Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493), which went for 15s. Mr. Blades has already familiarised students of English printing with the list of books printed by Caxton, which were sold at this auction for prices varying from two to eighteen shillings, but for the sake of completeness they may be repeated here:—

Cato, . . .	4s. 2d.	Good Manners, .	2s. 0d.
Chess (first ed.), .	13s. 2d.	Jason, . . .	5s. 1d.
Chronicles, . .	3s. 6d.	Knight of the Tower,	5s. 1d.
Eneydos, . .	3s. 0d.	Mirror of the Word, .	5s. 0d.
Godfrey, . .	18s. 2d.	Pilgrimage and Chastising, . . .	5s. 0d.

or a total of eleven Caxtons for £3, 4s. 2d. I take the list as Mr. Blades gives it, but in the catalogue the *Rule of St. Benet* is joined with the last two entries. To the entry of the *Godfrey of Boloyne* the cataloguer appended the note, 'being K. Edward the IV.'s own Book,' which identifies it with a copy, in the original vellum cover, now in the Holford collection. This has written in it the words, 'This was King Edw. ye fourth Booke,' but as it also contains the note, 'pertinet Rogers Thorney,' and Thorney was a patron of Wynkyn de Worde, and probably a friend of Caxton, we must either give up the royal ownership, or suppose that Thorney, who might have got a copy more easily from the printer, purchased it after the king's death.

Besides the Caxtons, Smith possessed the *Vitæ Patrum*, printed by De Worde (here wrongly ascribed to 1485), and the *Miracles of the Virgin*, Tindal's *New Testament* of 1536, which sold for 6s., most of the sixteenth century chronicles, and *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, which fetched respectively 3s. 2d. and 2s. 9d. His sympathies, like that of most of the bookmen with whom we are concerned, were probably with the Puritan party, hence, as in most of these sales, the Elizabethan dramatists are but poorly represented. On the other hand, he possessed some interesting MSS., connected with Elizabeth, Mary, Queen of Scots, and Sir Walter Raleigh. A lot which went for 7s. 6d. is interesting as connecting Smith with an earlier bookman, Humphrey Dyson, who collected a series of Elizabethan Proclamations now in the British Museum, and whose industry had led him to compile 'six several catalogues of all such books, touching as well the state ecclesiastical as temporal

of the Realm of England, published in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., Philip and Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James and Charles I.' This long description only served to bring a bid of fifteenpence a volume, but the auctioneer's further note, that out of Mr. Dyson's 'library was gathered by Mr. Smith, a great part of the rarities of this catalogue' is very interesting. Dyson's name is to be found in a few books at the British Museum, and I believe that Mr. Gordon Duff has made many notes concerning him.

We have lingered so long over Richard Smith that the other sales of the year must be quickly dismissed. In Walter Rea's sale Caxton's *Eneads* (1490) sold for a poor eighteenpence, a *Herrick* for a shilling (the average price of the lighter verse books of the day, but which fills his humble editor with regret), and some late Shakespeare quartos in bundles for a couple of shillings a lot. John Parsons was a Barrister of the Middle Temple, and his books were mainly legal and historical, but he possessed a little light literature, *e.g.* Carew's *Poems*, which fetched the usual shilling, and Cowley's in the folio of 1680, which, in virtue of its bulk and the author's popularity, was run up to as much as 12s. 6d. The last sale of the year was that of John Humphrey, who is designated as 'of Rowell, Northamptonshire.' His library was unusually varied, containing a good many French, Italian, and Spanish books, which sold very poorly, some English light literature, of which the prices are not given, and a few MSS., notably one of Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*.

During the next year there were eight book-sales, viz. :—

33. John Arthury, etc., Feb. 12, 168⅔.
34. Sam. Wilson Scoti, etc., April 12, 1683.
35. D. Whately, Sim. Rutland, } April 23, 1683.
36. Briani Waltoni Epi, April 30, 1683.
37. Dan Rogers, June 21, 1683.
38. Jo. Collins, July 22, 1683.
39. Ch. Adams at Chelmsfford, Nov. 16, 1683.
40. Jo. Lloyd, Th. Raymond, Ravinshaw's App., } etc., Dec. 3, 1683.

The etc. appended to Arthury's name represents the books of 'another divine of Hereford.' As usual the ponderous works sold best, the *Critici sacri* of 1669 realising £10, and the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* £6, 5s., while the first edition of the *Anatomy of Melancholy* sold for three shillings, and the first complete edition of Bacon's *Essays* for fourteenpence. The books of our first Scotch collector, Samuel Wilson, were few and unimportant. I do not know if I am right in identifying him with the Secretary to the Carolina Proprietors, who published a book on Carolina in 1682. Whately's sale was another instance of a collection being dispersed many years after its owner's death. He was a vicar of Banbury (d. 1639), and the author of two curious books on matrimony, the first, printed in 1619, entitled *A Bride Bush, or a direction for married persons*, and the second, which casts some doubts on the efficacy of its predecessor, *A Care-Cloth: or a treatise of the cumbers and troubles of marriage, intended to advise them that may to shun; that may not, to bear them*! Simeon Rutland, whose books were sold at the same time, was a physician of Brentford, and besides many medical works must be credited, as their dates prove, with most of the English books, among which we may note the appearance

of two copies of the *Pilgrim's Progress* (editions of 1682 and 1683), which sold respectively for sixpence and sevenpence.

The sale of the books of Brian Walton (d. 1661), bishop of Chester, and editor of the famous polyglot Bible, doubtless interested the clergy, but few of his books, not even the Polyglot itself, which was published at £10, are priced in the catalogue I have seen, and the sale has few points of interest. Daniel Rogers was minister of Haversham, Bucks, and according to a tract, not published, be it noted, till 1692, had predicted the deaths of both Archbishop Laud and Charles I. During the Civil War he had apparently imitated Thomasson, as the preface to the catalogue notes that his library was rich in 'those curious volumes of tracts, and that exact collection of forreign and domestick news of all sorts that was published in the beginning and during our unhappy civil confusions.' The catalogue also enumerates many books which we should hardly expect to find in the library of the author of the *Essex Watchman's Watchword*, *e.g.* that 'vain and amatorious poem,' Sidney's *Arcadia*, but the preface tells us that it represented also 'other considerable persons' studies,' and no conclusions can be drawn.

The practice of uniting two or more libraries together in a single sale continued to increase, and the catalogue tells us that to the books of John Collins, Esq., late of Gray's Inn, were added those of 'another fam'd practicer of the Law.' In the preface it was stated that 'this catalogue contains the compleatest collection of the Common and Statute Law Books, antient and modern, hitherto published. These gentlemen were curious in collecting of the ancient and scarce Books of the Law,

and especially of books of old customs, wages, and charters, there being no less than three different editions of that fam'd book of the Customs of Normandy,' etc. It was remarkable also for the total absence of theological books, thereby differing greatly from that of Charles Adams, minister of Great Baddon, Chelmsford, whose small library was mainly theological. The next sale was that of John Lloyd, sometime minister of North Mimms, Herts, and of Sir Thomas Raymond, late one of the Justices of the King's Bench. This collection was rich in histories and chronicles, but included also some lighter works, notably the first edition of the *Faery Queen*, which sold for a shilling, and 'Poems writ by Will. Shakespear, Gent., with his effigies' (probably the 1640 edition), which fetched only a humble sixpence.

The number of book-sales in the next year rose to as many as ten, viz. :—

41. Gasp. Gunterus, Mar. 20, 168¾.
42. Rich. Chace, Chr. Bartbust, and Geo. Tonstal, M.D., } Mar. 24, 168¾.
43. Matt. Smallwood, May 2, 1684.
44. Joh. Owen, May 26, 1684.
45. Fr. Kendon, Bibliopolæ, June 16, 1684.
46. Joh. Gellibrand, Th. Simmons at Tunbridge, } Aug. 8, 1684.
47. Bibliotheca Sturbitchiana, Sept. 8, 1684.
48. Jonæ Mori Equitis, Nov. 3, 1684.
49. Th. Lye and Th. Jennings, Nov. 17, 1684.
50. Benj. Broeckhuysen, Dec. 1, 1684.

Jasper Gunter was a Doctor of Medicine, and his library was mainly composed of books on 'physick, mathematicks, law, and history.' Not being a theologian, however, he also possessed a few plays, and Dryden's *Essay of Dramatick Poesies*, with several of his plays, is recorded as having

fetched 4s. 2d., and another volume of the Restoration dramatists three shillings. In the next sale Chace was a Bachelor of Divinity, Bathurst and Tonstall, Doctors of Medicine, and the mixed collection faithfully reflected their professional interests. Matthew Smallwood, as befitted a Dean of Lichfield, had duly possessed all the standard theological works of the day, but in addition to these almost all the poets whose works had been printed or reprinted during the century were represented in his library, and we find the third Shakespeare folio fetching 15s. 6d., Beaumont and Fletcher's *Plays* 8s., and Ogilby's *Virgil* and *Homer*, 'with sculptures and gilt leafs,' 15s. 3d. and 10s. 3d. John Owen was another Dean, but a much more rigid Puritan, as we may guess from his having been selected to preach before the House of Commons the day after the execution of Charles I. We are told, however, that 'his sermon was so modest and inoffensive that his friends could make no just exception nor his enemies take advantage of his words another day,' and the catalogue shows that he yielded to some of the pleasant and humanising weaknesses of the bookman. Thus his *Synopsis Criticorum* was a copy on 'charta magna, coriis deauratis,' and his *Collectio Maxima Conciliorum* in thirty-seven volumes was also gold-tooled, and thereby fetched five pounds more than the copy owned by Smallwood.

The collections of Gellibrand and Simmons are not exciting, though the appearance of the latter, who was a Father of the Oratory, among our Puritan divines was a sign of the times. The *Bibliotheca Sturbitchiana* put down on our list for Sept. 8 represents the books sold at Stourbridge Fair. The rest of the sales of the year need not detain us. Sir Jonas Moore was a writer on mathe-

matics and an authority on the Bedford Level, and his books were mainly professional. Thomas Lye was a clergyman at Clapham; Jenning's only designation is the honourable one of 'civis Londinensis'; Benjamin Broeckhuysen was a Doctor of Philosophy and Medicine. I have seen no priced catalogues of any of these libraries, and their owners were none of them 'bookmen.'

During 1685 there were thirteen sales, but seven of the thirteen had to do with the 'trade.'

51. Jo. Warnerii Epi Roff., Feb. 16, 168$\frac{4}{5}$.
Bibliotheca Hawkinsiana, April 13, 1685.
This was not sold by auction.
52. Rich. Lee, T. D. at Hatfield, April 28, 1685.
53. Ambr. Atfield, T. D., May 25, 1685.
54. Bibliotheca Sturbigiensis, Sept. 8, 1685.
55. Th. Parkhurst, Bibliopolæ, Oct. 19, 1685.
56. Bibl. Nobilis Cujusdam, Nov. 10, 1685.
57. Pet. Hushar, Merchant, Nov. 18, 1685.
58. Rich. Davies, Bibliopol, Nov. 26, 1685.
59. Moses Pitt, Nov. 30, 1685.
60. Moses Pitt's Bibles, sh. Bibl. $\frac{1}{2}$, Dec. 10, 1685.
61. Dr. Stokes, Dec. 1, 1685.

John Warner, with whom we take up our story, was a Bishop of Rochester, and his sale, which took place when he had been dead nineteen years, looks as if it had been timed to celebrate the centenary of his birth in 1585. He had founded a College at Bromley for the widows of clergymen, and appears to have been a man of piety and learning. The books which came into his sale were mainly theological, but one of his few MSS. preserves a treatise 'describing the several sorts and names of great guns, or canons, and the way to undermine and blow up a wall or fort,' and suggests that the good Bishop, who suffered much in the Royalist cause, had developed a keen interest in military matters during the Civil War.

The 'Bibliotheca Hawkinsiana' of which we are told that the auction, fixed for Monday, April 13, 1685, never took place, belonged to William Hawkins, Prebendary of Norwich. The catalogue was printed and the sale was to have been spread over a whole month, but the collection, mainly theological, was apparently sold by private treaty.

Richard Lee was Vicar of Hatfield, and his books were sold at the Parsonage House for the benefit of Mrs. Elizabeth Lee, whom we may guess to have been his widow. Thomas Atfield was another clergyman, having been minister of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. His books were reinforced by those of 'Mr. John Cooth, formerly of Somersetshire,' but are more numerous than interesting. The 'Nobilis Quidam,' whose library was sold on November 10, has not been identified. Dr. Stokes was another theologian, and the 'et aliorum' appended to his name on the catalogue deprives the sale of any interest. With the booksellers' auctions we need not concern ourselves, except to note that Mr. Moses Pitt, who had used this method of reducing his stock some years before, now expresses his hope, that 'Charitable Gentlemen and Reverend Clergymen' would purchase his books for the benefit of their poor Neighbours or Parishioners!

62. Mr. R. Chiswel, Bibl., Feb. 8, $168\frac{5}{6}$.
63. A Catalogue of Law Books, Feb. 18, $168\frac{5}{6}$.
64. A Catalogue of Civil Law Books, being but half a sheet, Feb. 25, $168\frac{5}{6}$.
65. Obed. Sedgwick at Trumpington near to Cambridge, Mar. 29, 1686.
66. Chr. Terne, Th. Allen, R. Talbor, April 12, 1686.
67. Rich. Davies, Bibl. Oxon., April 19, 1686.
68. Bibliotheca Anglicana, $\frac{1}{2}$ sh., May 5, 1686.
69. Wm. Whitwood at Trumpingt., May 17, 1686.
70. Bibl. Bacon, Fr. Bacon, $\frac{1}{2}$ sheet, May 19, 1686.
71. Joh. Bradford and W. Cooper, June 14, 1686.

72. Sir Rich Weston, June 24, 1686.
73. Bibl. Castelliana Ed. Castelli, June 30, 1686.
74. Catalogues Lib. Medicorum, July 13, 1686.

I should have been glad to have brought these notes to a close by recording some interesting sales during the last year of Cooper's record, but the worthy man would have done better to stop a little earlier, as the sales of these last three years are merely dull. Obadiah Sedgwick was a somewhat fanatical Puritan, who had died in 1658. We have thus a double reason for being sure that many of the English books, which include works of light literature published in the sixties and seventies, had never been in his possession, but were 'put into' the sale. Sir Richard Weston had been a Baron of the Exchequer, and his library was mainly legal. Even the Castell sale was rather a poor affair, for the old man had bequeathed the best of his books to Emmanuel College, and his manuscripts to the University. Some memoranda in the copy of this catalogue at the British Museum offer a few points of interest. Pasted on one of the leaves is 'Mr. Edward Millington his noate for £5,' drawn in favour of 'Mr. Sedgwick,' doubtless a descendant of Obadiah. Another entry tells us that the proceeds of the 'Trumpington catalogue,' referring either to the Sedgwick or the Whitwood sale, came to £136, 4s. 10d., and that at Stourbridge nineteen pounds was received in silver, nineteen shillings in 'odd money,' eight shillings and sixpence in brass, and thirty-six pounds in gold. The sum realised by the Castell sale appears to have been £319, 17s. 3d., the auctioneer was paid £5 'for defraying of charges in 's lodgings,' and the hire of thirteen carts for conveying the books from Emmanuel College to the sign of the Eagle and

Child, where they were sold, cost the not excessive sum of three shillings.

So we come to the end of Thomas Cooper's list of the first seventy-four book-sales in England. Our interest in them has perhaps been rather sorely tried towards the end of the ten years which the list covers, but we may nevertheless be grateful to him for having drawn up so careful a record. Any one who will take the trouble to study these old catalogues for himself will have no difficulty in gaining from them a very fair idea of the interests and aims of the bookmen of the day. 'Works which no gentleman's,' and above all no clergyman's, 'library should be without,' figure largely in them, but we see also the beginning of the interest in early printed books, and other signs that the spirit of the 'collector' was not wholly unknown. The prices fetched at these sales were on the whole remarkably steady, and with a little trouble it would be easy to construct from them a seventeenth century 'Book-Prices Current.' It is, perhaps, in accordance with precedent to remark that by the judicious expenditure of five-and-twenty pounds during the ten years we have reviewed a library of about two hundred volumes might have been acquired which would now be cheap at ten thousand pounds. But as the twenty-five pounds, if invested at compound interest at five per cent. would now have amounted to nearly a million, it is well for bookmen not to make too much of such mercenary considerations.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

NOTICES

MR. MADAN'S bibliographical account of the *Early Oxford Press*,[1] from '1468' to 1640, represents the work of his leisure hours for six years, and though it is possible that the discovery of other Oxford books may one day leave room for an appendix, his task is done for all time, and can never be superseded. As was, perhaps, necessary in a work intended to be permanent Mr. Madan has re-stated very carefully all the arguments for and against the accuracy of the date MCCCCLXVIII. in the first Oxford book, but while showing that the accidental omission of an x has not yet been absolutely proved he does not seriously set himself against the overwhelming weight of authority in favour of this theory. His treatment of the Oxford incunabula, and of the few books printed at the brief revival of the press in 1517 is admirably full, and is illustrated with excellent facsimiles of the different types, as well as with tables showing the ownership of all known copies, and summarising various details of typography.

In cataloguing the books printed after the establishment of the press at Oxford on a permanent footing in 1585, Mr. Madan has introduced some refinements which have hitherto been reserved for incunabula or works of great rarity. Thus he endeavours to give some idea of the appearance of the title-pages by using four different types, gives the technical name of the chief type used in each book; and facilitates the identification of imperfect copies by quoting the first words of certain pages in the body of the book. Lastly, by way of illustration, he has inserted in every copy

[1] *The Early Oxford Press:* a bibliography of printing and publishing at Oxford, '1468'-1640. With notes, appendixes, and illustrations. By Falconer Madan. *Oxford: at the Clarendon Press*, 1895.

of his work three leaves chosen from Oxford books, printed about the dates 1587, 1616, and 1636! But the Oxford press may well forgive the mutilation of a few of its commonest publications to the bibliographer who has compiled this record of its early activity with such unwearying enthusiasm.

Dr. Sommer's edition of the French text of the *Roman de Merlin*[1] is a work of a different character to Mr. Madan's, but must have demanded no less enthusiasm. For the satisfactory study of the Arthurian cycle the chief requisite at present is that the more important texts of the different romances should be made accessible for comparison. Dr. Sommer's contribution to this task consists of some five hundred quarto pages, closely though handsomely printed. The mere transcription of these from a manuscript of the beginning of the fourteenth century represents the work of many months, and since the transcriber has to reckon not only with the frailties of his own eyes and hand, but with those of his printer as well, the difficulties of his task are enormous. No doubt some slips will be found in this transcript—*e.g.* on page 21 l. 31, *ot* appears to be a misprint for *oi*—but we believe that it will more than sustain the high reputation for accuracy which its editor has already won by similar tasks. Dr. Sommer has accompanied his text by side-notes, which form a useful key to the contents of the book. In his introduction he describes the manuscript from which he has transcribed the *Merlin*, and contrasts its contents with those of the other Arthurian manuscripts in the British Museum. Only an index of names is wanted to make his work quite complete.

[1] *Le Roman de Merlin*, or the early history of King Arthur, faithfully edited from the French MS. Add. 10292 in the British Museum (about A.D. 1316). By H. Oskar Sommer. London: privately printed for subscribers.

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

LITTLE GIDDING BINDINGS

SOME years ago Captain Acland-Troyte read before the Society of Antiquaries an excellent 'Account of the Harmonies contrived by Nicholas Ferrar,' which will be found in vol. li. of *Archæologia*; quite recently, moreover, Mr. H. P. Horne, in his *The Binding of Books*, has given in a few pages a description of the Little Gidding bindings, marked by the accuracy and soundness of judgment which pervade the whole of his admirable little book. My excuse for approaching afresh a subject which has been already so competently dealt with is twofold. In the first place, the old error continues to be repeated, and every embroidered binding which finds its way into a catalogue is described as 'in the Little Gidding style,' if not directly attributed to Mary Collet herself. In the second place, I have examined most of these books for myself, and have discovered what seems to me rather interesting evidence of the connection between the real Little Gidding bindings and the contemporary work executed by, or for, the printers to the University of Cambridge, Thomas and John Buck. To the error of the catalogues—so destructive to the reputation of the

Ferrars for severity of taste—I hope that the illustrations which accompany this article may be a sufficient answer, while, whether my own small discovery is worth much or little, it will at least be of service by calling attention to a school of binding at Cambridge which deserves further investigation.

The 'Arminian Nunnery,' as its ill-wishers called it, at Little Gidding, and the lives of its inmates have been so often described that a very brief notice of them will suffice by way of preface. Nicholas Ferrar himself was born in 1592, and up to his twenty-first year led a secluded life, occupied by incessant study, by which his natural delicacy was greatly increased. In 1613 he left England to recruit his health by foreign travel, and remained abroad for six years, at first in the retinue of the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards wandering by himself over Germany, Italy, and Spain, and studying at Leipsic, Padua, and Rome. Returning home in 1619 he found the affairs of his family greatly embarrassed, and showed considerable business capacity in his efforts to stave off destruction from the unlucky Virginia Company, with which his father was connected. For a short time he was in Parliament, but he could not give his heart either to business or politics. In 1625, when the plague was raging in London, Ferrar and his mother, a most devout and excellent lady, left the town, and took refuge with his brother-in-law, John Collet, at Bourne in Cambridgeshire. Some little time before this, his mother had purchased the manor of Little Gidding, near Huntingdon, and now first the church, which had been used as a barn, and then the manor-house, was put in order, and the whole clan of Ferrars and Collets took up their residence

there, to live a life of prayer and meditation under the direction of Nicholas, who was shortly afterwards ordained deacon, by Laud, then bishop of St. Davids. The story of the life of prayer and praise and recreative work in the old manor-house is too well known to be lingered over here. The ordering and management of everything was minutely directed by Nicholas Ferrar himself, and carried out by his nieces, each of whom took charge of the housekeeping in turns, the eldest, Mary Collet, retaining the treasurership of the whole. All the ladies, moreover, besides teaching in a little school, were 'trained surgeons,' or are so described by Turner, bishop of Ely, who knew them, and tells us also that they wore 'black stuff, all of one pattern, and always the same,' though we have no reason to believe that it was cut according to the conventual fashion in which it pleased the publisher of a pamphlet attacking the Ferrars, issued in 1641,[1] to represent it.

In 1631, apparently before the more famous Harmonies were undertaken, Ferrar directed his nieces in the collecting and writing out some curious religious dialogues. The sisters in these conversations assumed fancy names. Mary was the 'Cheife,' Anne the 'Patient,' others, whose names are not known, were called the 'Affectionate,' the 'Chereful,' and the 'Moderator,' Ferrar himself being the 'Visitor.' There are twelve discourses, hymns and dialogues, and tales in honour of virtue and piety, all of which were discoursed and related, we are told, in the sisters' chambers, 'by the seven virgin

[1] This was entitled 'The Arminian Nunnery, or a briefe description of the late erected Monasticall place called the Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire. The foundation is by a company of Farrars at Gidding.' The pamphlet was a garbled version of a private letter written in 1634, by Edward Lenton to Sir Thomas Hatley, and was indignantly disowned by Lenton.

ladies and other of the religious academy.' The three manuscript volumes in which these curious discourses are contained have lately been acquired by the British Museum. They contain the name-plate of John Collet, and a note by Elizabeth Kestian recording his gift of them to her, and her desire that they should be given to her 'dear cosen,' Dr. John Mapletoft, whose subsequent possession of them is attested by his armorial book-plate. The volumes measure $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ inches, and are bound in black morocco, with a small double gold-line running along the edge, finished with a little ornamental spray at each corner.

Of the eleven Little Gidding *Harmonies*, now known to exist, two are dated 1635, one 1637, and four 1640, while four others do not mention the year of their completion. We know, however, that already in 1634 the fame of one such Harmony had reached the ears of Charles I., so that we may fairly conjecture that they were taken up immediately after the writing out of the *Dialogues* at which we have just been looking. John Ferrar has described to us the aspect of the 'concordance chamber,' as it was called, with its pleasant green walls, inscribed with devotional texts, the large rolling-presses, and the tables round the sides of the room, at which the religious ladies sat, cutting up copies of the Scriptures, pasting the passages together, and decorating them with engravings, which Nicholas is supposed to have collected during his travels abroad. The first Harmony which we hear of was borrowed by the king, and returned (enriched with his marginalia) only on the promise that a similar one should be compiled for his own use. This was done, and the copy thus prepared (despite the misdescription of the binding,

which I shall notice in due course) is generally identified with that presented by George II., with the rest of the Old Royal Collection, in 1757 to the British Museum. Charles I. liked the *Harmony of the Gospels* so well that he commanded the preparation of a similar concordance of the Books of Kings and Chronicles. This was finished in 1637, and a copy answering to it, in every respect save the binding, came to the Museum in 1757 in the same way as its predecessor.

In 1637 Nicholas Ferrar himself died, but the work went on till the community was broken up during the Civil War (in 1647), and we hear of other Harmonies being prepared for Prince Charles and the little Duke of York, a Harmony of the Pentateuch for Archbishop Laud, and others, which appear to have perished, for George Herbert and Thomas Jackson, Dean of Peterborough.

In 1888 Captain Acland-Troyte drew up a list of the ten Little Gidding *Harmonies* then known, with their owners, and I may epitomise this as follows:

1. Four Gospels (morocco). Dated 1635. (British Museum.)
2. Four Gospels (morocco). Dated 1635. (Captain Acland-Troyte.)
3. Kings and Chronicles (morocco). Dated 1637. (British Museum.)
4. Four Gospels (calf). Dated 1640. (Miss Heming.)
5. Four Gospels (morocco). Dated 1640. (Lord A. Hervey, Bp. of Bath and Wells.)
6. Pentateuch (velvet). Dated 1640. (St. John's College, Oxford.)
7. Four Gospels (velvet). Dated 1640. (Lord Normanton.)
8. Four Gospels (velvet). Undated. (Lord Salisbury.)
9. Acts and Revelation (morocco). Undated. (British Museum.)
10. Pentateuch (velvet). Undated. (Capt. Gaussen.)

To this we must now add the further entry:

11. Four Gospels (vellum). Undated. (British Museum.)

a very curious copy of this Harmony having been acquired by the Museum last year. Of these eleven volumes I have been fortunate enough to be allowed to examine seven, and of an eighth the Earl of Normanton was good enough to send me a rubbing of the cover. The contents of all the Harmonies have been so well described by Captain Acland-Troyte that I shall only mention them incidentally, and may devote the rest of my paper exclusively to the bindings, with which I am chiefly concerned.

II

The lists of works given in Peckard's *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar* (1790), and in *The Life of Nicholas Ferrar by his brother John*, edited by J. B. Mayor (1855), are both long and purport to be complete, but they do not quite agree, neither are they quite accurate. For instance, John Ferrar states that the copy of the 'Five Bookes of Moses,' given to Archbishop Laud, was bound in green velvet, whereas the velvet of the copy at S. John's College, Oxford, which is undoubtedly Laud's, is distinctly purple. We must bear this slight inaccuracy in mind when we come to deal with the copies in the Old Royal Library, but we may here content ourselves with noting that, while four of the Harmonies are in the stamped velvet described by John Ferrar, six are bound in leather, and one in vellum. The velvet bindings are very remarkable. They are decorated with designs stamped on the velvet in gold by a difficult and troublesome process, and one which, although it had been used in England for some considerable

time, and several royal books were bound in this manner, always remained uncommon.

One creditable feature in all Little Gidding books deserves mention before we proceed further —they are all very strongly sewn on an unusual number of bands, generally made of white calf. The result is that the bindings are very firm indeed, so that I have never found a loose leaf in any one of the volumes I have examined. This firmness is, I think, a peculiarity likely to occur when a conscientious beginner sews a book, but having begun in this way the sisters maintained it to the end. I may mention also that the boards used are always of pulp and rather soft, the paper thick and strong, the end-papers marbled red or blue, and that in nearly all cases the volumes have been kept together by two silk ties on the front edge, these ties or 'strings,' as they are called, being sometimes edged with gold lace, especially on the velvet books.

We may now turn to the stamps with which the bindings were decorated, and I would first draw

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(2)

attention to the two here figured, premising that these and the other diagrams in this article are from my own drawings, and do not pretend to be correct to a millimetre. It should be noted, indeed, that the appearance of an impression in gold from any given stamp varies considerably according to the material on which the impression is made, owing to the greater or less degree to which the gold leaf adheres to the material beyond the edges

of the stamp itself. This adherence is less on vellum than on leather, but in the case of velvet is very considerable.

The first of these two stamps, both of which are intended to be used in repetition to form a circle, has a curious arrangement of three arches, each arch containing a small bird with its wings outspread.

The second stamp is, in outline, a square with a pointed top, the top being thick and notched. Enclosed in this is an arabesque design with two roses. Both these stamps are used on the Harmony dated 1635, now in the British Museum, the cover of which, very considerably reduced, is shown in Plate 1 (vii).

Now if after examining these two stamps we turn to Plate 2 (viii), which shows a cover and the back of a copy of the New Testament in Greek, printed in 1632 by Thomas Buck of Cambridge, and bound, like the Harmony of 1635, in black leather, we shall find that stamps of an identical shape are largely used, and that the central circular arrangement is very similar in both. On the back of the 1635 Harmony,[1] moreover, the decoration takes a triple form, resembling that shown on the back of the Cambridge book.

Besides the example here figured, I have found the first of these two Little Gidding stamps on a *Clavis Apocalyptica*, printed by Buck in 1632, and

[1] This back could not be shown in our illustration on account of the size of the book. The loss is the less, because, unfortunately, the back has been 'restored' by some former custodian, and the stamps used on it are no longer reliable. The restoration has, I regret to say, extended to some patches on the sides, but, as it has been carefully done, the result here is not so disastrous. It need hardly be said, however, that 'restoration' of this sort is most utterly to be condemned. Even if an old piece of work is in really bad condition, it is better to leave it untouched, and preserve it from further harm by putting it in a case, while under no circumstances should the decoration be meddled with.

presumably bound by him. A modification of the stamp occurs also in the same circular arrangement on a copy of *Valerius Maximus* (Paris, 1544), which may very probably have come from the same bindery.

Now I am fully aware that the argument from the use of stamps, whether identical or cut on the same pattern, has to be used with some caution. But I think it may very well be conceded that if a particular binder uses one or more peculiar stamps, and impressions from these stamps, or duplicates of them, are found on other contemporary bindings, some sort of connection is established. In the present case we have the help of Dr. Jebb's statement that when the ladies of Little Gidding took to binding their own books 'a Cambridge bookbinder's daughter that bound rarely' was procured to teach them how to do it, and how to gild, and I think, therefore, that we may fairly conclude that this clever bindress brought some of her own stamps with her, and her own ideas as to how they should be arranged, and that she came either from the University Printers themselves, or from some Cambridge bindery which they patronised, where she herself had been trained.

I must not omit to mention two other books on which these Little Gidding stamps occur, and these have tempted me to a rather daring hypothesis. Both came to the British Museum in the Old Royal Collection, and both are bound in stamped velvet, the one in crimson, and the other in blue. The blue book shown in Plate 3 (ix) is a *Notitia Dignitatum*, printed at Lyons in 1608, and is stamped in gold with an especially beautiful elaboration of the design found on Buck's New Testament, with the addition of a new stamp of a large pheasant,[1]

[1] It should be noted that a stamp of a flying pheasant is found on several bindings presumably executed at Cambridge, though it has not yet been connected definitely with any Cambridge bindery.

impressed in silver, as are also some of the stars and borders. On the gilt edges we have the small double laurel spray, which can be seen on the upper panel of the back of the New Testament, repeated, and picked out afterwards in colour.

The second book is an edition of Mercator's *Atlas*, printed at Amsterdam in 1613. Its gilt edges are elaborately decorated, both with the pheasant just described and with the two Little Gidding stamps. The decoration of the covers consists of borders in gold and silver, and in the centre the Royal Arms stamped on brown calf, and very neatly cut out, apparently from some older binding, glued on the velvet and finished off with gold and silver stars.

The two bindings are clearly from the same workshop, and we cannot refuse to connect them with Buck's work on the one hand and the Little Gidding work on the other. They may have been bound in London for the king by some binders who afterwards worked for Buck. They may have been bound at Cambridge. But in the cutting out the Royal Arms from a calf-binding and incorporating it in velvet there is something so closely akin to the paste and scissors work in which the Little Gidding sisters delighted, and which we shall see again in Plate 4 (x), that I cannot but think it possible that Charles I. asked them to rebind for him these two old folios, and that they deserve a place, at least in an appendix, in any list of Little Gidding books. The suggestion that the books were now only re-covered would explain the professional excellence of the forwarding, while the fact that we have no other example of ornamented edges in Little Gidding books is not a serious difficulty, since the leaves of the Harmonies are kept apart by the

inserted engravings, and could not have been properly gauffred.

We may now turn our attention to five other stamps, which, as far as I know, are found only on Little Gidding bindings.

These stamps are a heart, a stumpy fleur-de-lys, an acorn, a rose, and an oak spray.

The heart occurs in the 1635 *Harmony of the Gospels*, on the vellum-bound *Harmony of the*

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(7)

Gospels (1636?), and in Archbishop Laud's copy of the *Law of Moses*, 1640.

The stumpy fleur-de-lys occurs only in Lord Salisbury's *Harmony* (1640?).

The acorn occurs in the vellum-bound *Harmony* (1636?), in Archbishop Laud's copy of the *Law of Moses*, 1640, in Lord Salisbury's *Harmony*, and in Lord Normanton's MONOTEΣΣAPON.

The oak spray occurs only in Lord Salisbury's *Harmony* (1640?).

The heart, fleur-de-lys, rose, and acorn are all admirably adapted for use in a circle.

Besides the seven stamps found in Little Gidding bindings, already figured, there are two larger stamps of a distinctly French form, which are found not uncommonly on other bindings as well. These are a double laurel spray with berries, which is a near copy of a stamp commonly found in the borders

of bindings attributed to Clovis Eve about the end of the sixteenth century; and a fleur-de-lys with

(8)

(9)

dotted lines issuing from the junctions of the larger petals.

These stamps both occur in the British Museum *Harmony of the Gospels*, 1635, and in Lord Normanton's MONOTEΣΣAPON, and the fleur-de-lys is found in Miss Heming's *Harmony* of 1640.

The beautiful effect which Mary Collet, who seems to have done much of the binding herself, was able to produce by different arrangements of the stamps I have described shows that she was undoubtedly a lady of much taste and originality. She evidently was much assisted at first by the professional binder, whose trained hand may be recognised in the style and craftsmanship of some of the earlier work; but, after decorating one large book in perhaps somewhat too crowded a fashion, she soon formed a quiet and characteristic style of her own, and it may fairly be considered that the velvet-bound volumes, of great size, gorgeous in colour and rich in decoration, which were eventually produced under her supervision, must take the highest rank among amateur decorative bookbindings.

Unequalled in size, original in design, and rich in execution, these volumes must be seen to be appreciated; then indeed the expressions which Charles I. used concerning them, which sound extravagant, can well be understood. Although much

faded, and sometimes even re-backed and the sides relaid, with the silken ties all gone, enough of their old magnificence still remains to make us feel that we should indeed be proud that English binders could have produced such works.

III

I propose now to describe in detail the Little Gidding bindings which I have personally examined or about which, by the kindness of their owners, I have received special information, and I will take first the *Harmony* of 1635, now in the British Museum.

[1635]. This 'Concordance of the Foure Evangelists' [Plate 1 (vii)], said to have been made for Charles I. in 1635, and presented to the nation by George II. with the rest of the old Royal Library, is in many respects the most interesting of all the Little Gidding bindings. It forms a kind of key to almost all the others, and bears upon its stately boards not only the stamps borrowed or copied from the Cambridge binder but also some of those made for Nicholas Ferrar. The circle in the centre is the ruling feature, with quarter-circles in each of the four corners, but in this case there is also a broad diamond extending to each edge enclosing the centre circle, and not only this, but the resulting spaces are elaborately filled with perhaps every stamp Mary Collet, who is supposed to have executed the work, could find. Besides many smaller stamps, mostly arabesque, the two larger Cambridge stamps, arranged as they were on bindings by Thomas Buck, occur several times, and the 'Little Gidding' heart takes a prominent position.

This Concordance is prefaced by a carefully

drawn up 'Advertizement' containing directions for the proper understanding of the work. Hand type is used here and there, sometimes printed in colour, to show the different sources from which the excerpts are taken. The book measures 19 × 14 inches and has gilt edges. The front edges of the binding overlap and are decorated with a small pattern in gold, and the book is sewn on fifteen bands of white calf.

There is some difficulty in believing the statements generally made that this is the volume described by John Ferrar as being given to Charles I., because it is stated by him to have been 'bound in crimson velvet and richly gilded upon the velvet, a thing not usual.' The book itself agrees with Ferrar's description in every other particular, and by some it has been suggested that there may have originally been a loose cover for the book; but this is almost impossible, as no cover could fit at all well over a book that has overlapping edges, neither indeed is it likely that so fine a binding would ever have been covered up at all except for purposes of preservation. Also, to adorn velvet properly with stamped gilding, it is necessary to have the velvet fixed upon the boards. It is possible that the velvet book mentioned by John Ferrar was another copy which is now lost, and that it was decorated in the same manner as the velvet books that were generally made at a later date. On the other hand, the description may be a mistake on John Ferrar's part, as Peckard only says: 'This book was bound entirely by Mary Collet, all wrought in gold in a new and most elegant fashion,' and Dr. Jebb merely tells us: 'The gentlewomen finished one for the king, binding it with their own hands after a fashion altogether new and extraordinary.'

Where books were undoubtedly in velvet all these authorities agree.

[1636?]. The British Museum has recently acquired a book an illustration of which is given in Plate 4 (x), which, although following the usual circular design in the centre, is not only singular in its style of binding among Little Gidding productions, but has some claim to be considered unique. This is a curious *Harmony of the Gospels* probably made about 1636, bound in orange-coloured vellum. There is a note in the beginning of this volume, signed by John Mapletoft in 1715, in which he says: 'This was the book of my honoured aunt, Mrs. Mary Collet, compiled at Little Gidding by the direction of her uncle, Mr. Nicholas Farrar, & bound, I believe, by herself.' It also has a curious engraved book-plate, or what may perhaps be considered one, which reads: 'Johannes Collet, filius Thomæ Collet, Pater Thomæ, Gulielmi & Johannis, omnium superstes, Natus quarto Junij 1633, Denasciturus, quando Deo visum fuerit. Interim hujus proprietarius. John Collet.'

The bands are nine in number, the book measures 19 × 14 inches, and it is covered in one piece of vellum painted bright orange, ornamented at the centre, and corners with overlays of white vellum cut out in an openwork pattern, and finished with gold tooling both on the orange and on the white vellum. The centre circular ornament is cut out in the form of hearts, quatrefoils, ovals, and segments of circles, and it is further ornamented at each of its four extremities with a white heart edged and surmounted with a graceful gilt-tooled spray. At each corner is one quarter of the same design, further ornamented however, as the heart rests on a quatrefoil and is flanked by an oval on each side,

all of similar workmanship. There is along the edge a double line, the inner one indented and the outer straight. There have been red silk ties.

The stamps used in finishing and decorating the cut ornaments are chiefly the 'Little Gidding' stamps of the single acorn and the heart, in addition to several sprays of arabesque foliage.

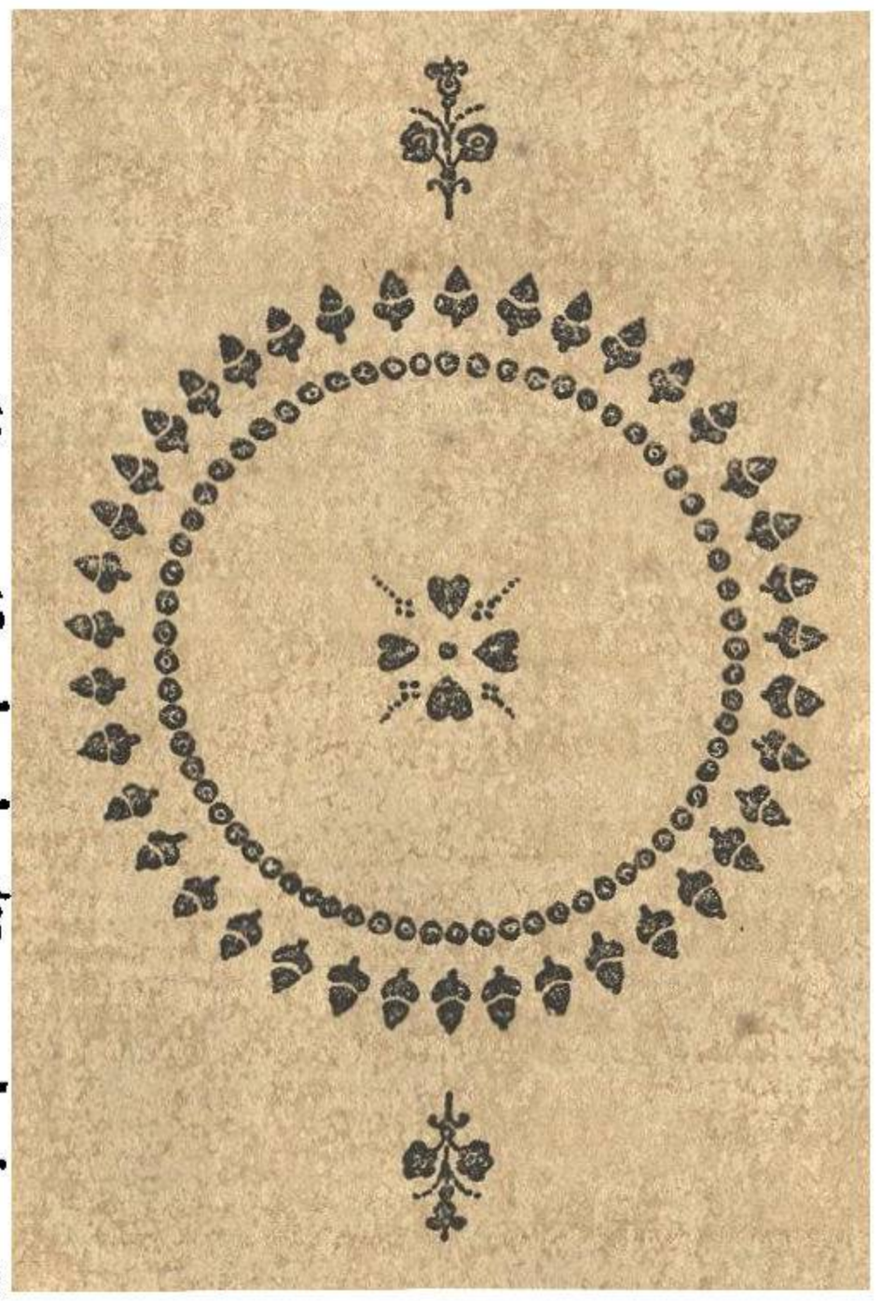
[1640]. Miss Heming, of Hillingdon Hill, near Uxbridge, a descendant of the Ferrar family, possesses the one book now existing, as far as I know, that was bound in calf at Little Gidding. It is entitled, 'The actions, doctrine, and other passages touching our Lord and Saviour as they are related by the foure evangelists. . . . Done at Little Gidding, A.D. MDCXL.' It is sewn on seven bands of white calf and measures $17\frac{1}{2} \times 12$ inches. It is decorated

with a centre ornament which contains the large fleur-de-lys used in the British Museum *Harmony* of 1635, combined with small arabesque stamps and the rose in the centre, and other small stamps are continued round the edges and at each corner.

It had originally green silk ties, but these are now worn off.

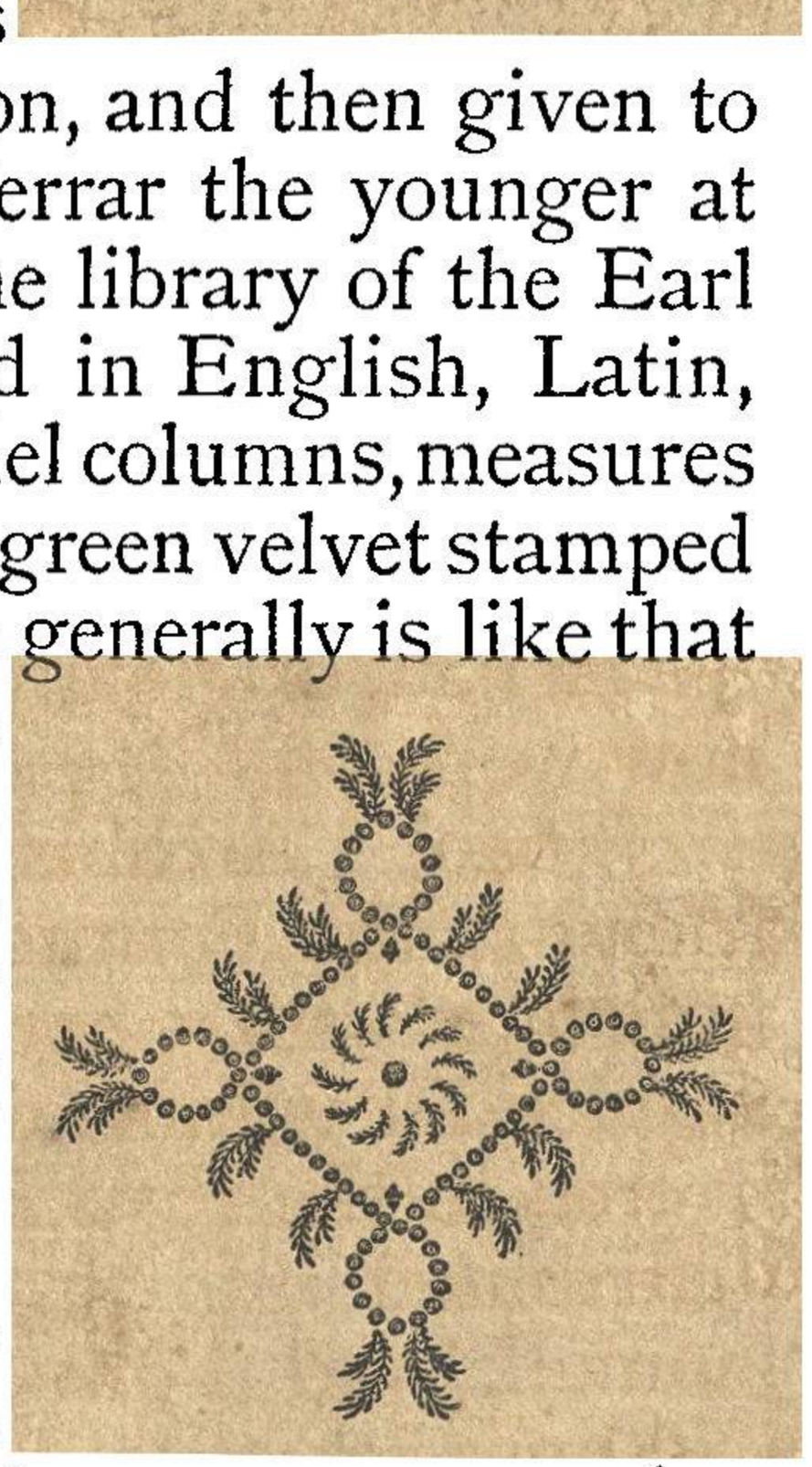
[1640]. Archbishop Laud who was an excellent friend to the Ferrars, and frequently used his great influence with Charles I. in their favour, possessed a splendid volume of the 'Law of God as it is delivered in the Five Bookes of Moyses, methodically distributed into three great classes, Morall, Ceremoniall, and Politicall.' It was 'Done at Little Gidding in 1640,' and is now preserved at St. John's College in Oxford. The binding is in purple velvet, the arrangement of the gold stamping on it resembles very closely that on Lord Salisbury's

book, but is simpler, the chief stamps being the single acorns and small roses, besides a few smaller arabesques. The book has probably at some time been kept in a damp place, as much of the 'pasting-printing' has come off. It was shown in London at the Laudian Exhibition in 1895.



It had crimson silk ties edged with gold braid, the remains of which are just recognisable and measures 18 × 10½ inches.

[1640]. The copy of the *Harmony of the Four Gospels* or 'MONOTEΣΣAPON,' which was submitted to the king in London, and then given to Prince Charles by Nicholas Ferrar the younger at Richmond in 1640, is now in the library of the Earl of Normanton. It is arranged in English, Latin, French, and Italian in four parallel columns, measures 24½ × 16 inches, and is bound in green velvet stamped in gold. The style of decoration generally is like that of the rest of the velvet books of Little Gidding, but although the actual centre ornament is circular, it is enclosed by a diamond of small circular stamps with corners and sprays of laurel. In this use of the diamond it resembles the Concordance of 1635 made for the king, and also it bears certainly two stamps that occur on the earlier book, namely, the large fleur-de-lys and the spray of laurel.



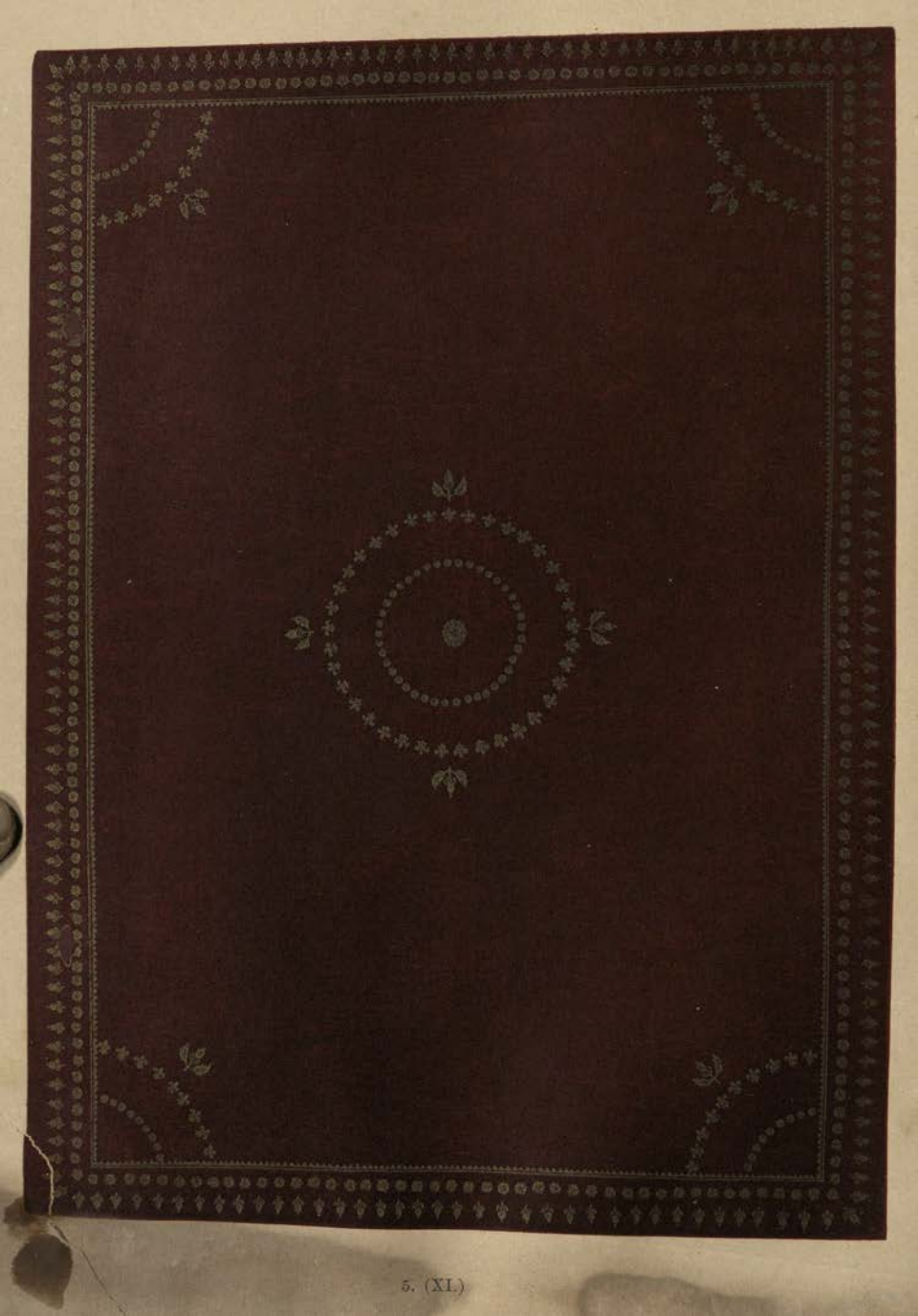
John Ferrar says of this volume that it is bound

'all in green velvet, stately and richly gilt all over with great broad stamps edged with gold lace.'

[1640?]. The volume belonging to the Marquis of Salisbury, which is illustrated in Plate 5 (xi), is a Concordance of the Four Evangelists; it measures 20 × 14, and is bound in purple velvet. The decoration, stamped in gold, consists of a centre rosette enclosed in two circles, the inner one of rings and the outer one of fleur-de-lys, at each of the four extremities of the outer circle is the stamp of an oak spray. In each corner is a quarter circle composed of the same stamps, and the whole is enclosed in an outer border of three rows, the inner one a small indented line, which is found also on the bindings by Thomas Buck, a line of roses and a line of acorns. The book has been re-backed and the edges repaired, so that it is not possible to count the bands, but it is evident there are several, and that it has not been actually re-bound. It has inside it the book-plate of 'James Cecill, Earle of Salisbury, 1704.' It is probable that this volume is the one that was made for Prince James, Duke of York, at his own request, but which never reached him. In this case it was made about 1640, but there is no date on the book itself.[1]

[1642?]. Another Harmony, measuring 29 × 20 inches, which now belongs to Captain Gaussen, is also bound in purple velvet and decorated. This is the volume, probably, about which the Duke of Lenox said to the King: 'Sir, one of your strongest guard will best be able to carry this book,' and on

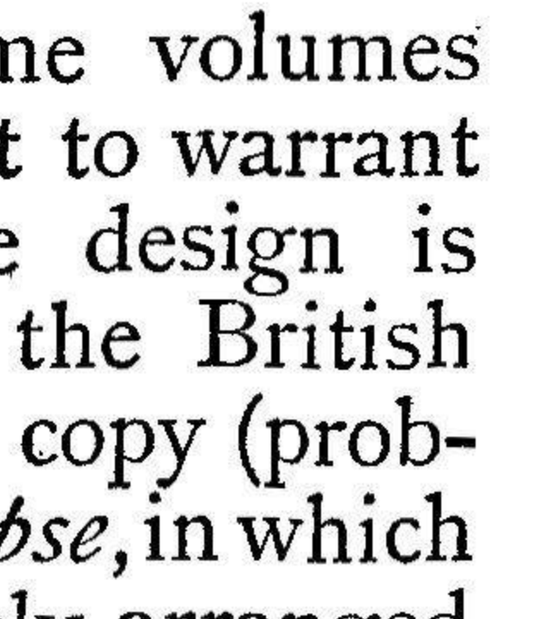
[1] My thanks are due to Lord Salisbury for his kindness in permitting me to make a photograph and notes of this book, and also to his secretary, Mr. R. T. Gunton, for the kind facilities he gave me to examine the volume at Hatfield. For information about, and permission to examine, other Little Gidding bindings I am indebted to Lord Normanton, Mr. Hutton, the librarian of St. John's College, Oxford, and Miss Heming.



the same occasion the Palsgrave said: 'I believe there is no book of this largeness in Christendom.'

It is 'The whole Law of God as it is delivered in the Five Books of Moses, methodically distributed into three great classes, moral, ceremonial, political, etc.' It is undated, but is supposed by Captain Acland-Troyte to be a late work, about 1642, and he also thinks it was made for Prince Charles. I much regret that, owing to Captain Gaussen's ill-health, it has been impossible for me to see this book.

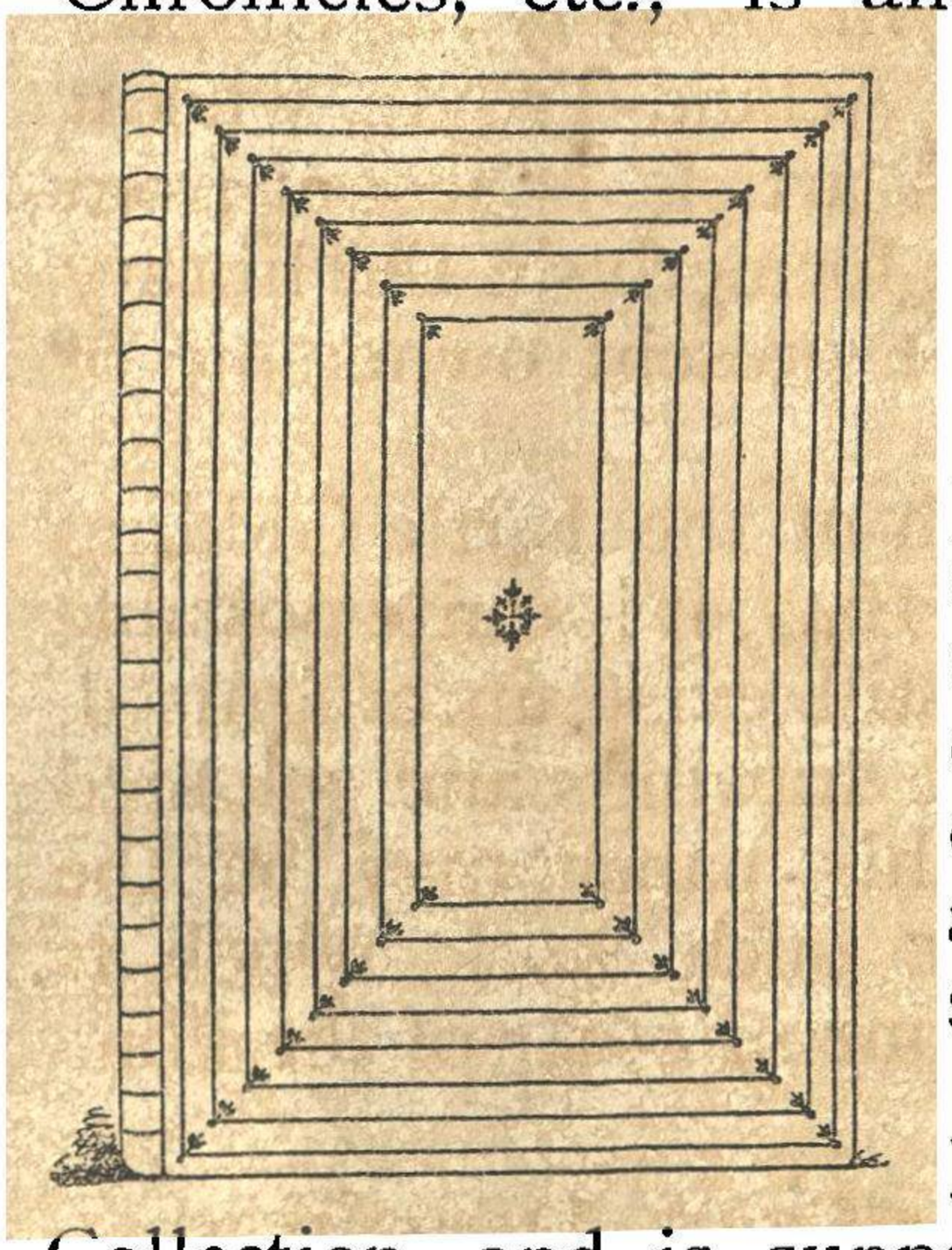
Although, as I have stated, the majority of the Little Gidding books are decorated in the manner which I have ventured to attribute to Buck of Cambridge, there are (besides some volumes not decorated at all, or so slightly as not to warrant notice) at least two cases where the design is entirely different. These are both in the British Museum, one of them being an undated copy (probably produced about 1637) of the *Apocalypse*, in which the pictures are perhaps more effectively arranged than in any other of the Little Gidding books. It is bound in black morocco with diaper pattern, all over each board and on the back, of plain centred and azured diamonds arranged in alternate rows, with a remarkably fine border composed of small stamps, some of which are very similar to others used on contemporary stamped velvet work, probably by Buck or his predecessor, as also upon the other volume I shall presently describe.



It measures $18\frac{1}{4} \times 14$ inches, and the azured diamond stamps are repeated altogether 3378 times on the boards and back, and this of course does not include the many impressions that have been made on the very handsome border, so that the labour of

finishing this book must have been immense; in fact it may truly be said, that in none of the Little Gidding work is there any sign of any hurried work; it is all leisurely, and has evidently been a work of love all along. It is sewn on ten bands of white calf. This manner of decorating a book, with diamond-shaped stamps, is not uncommon in English bindings of the time, but the workers at Little Gidding do not seem to have used it in any other instance.

[1637]. 'The History of the Israelites from the death of Saul to their carrying away captive into Babylon, collected out of the bookes of Kings & Chronicles, etc.,' is another book in the British



Museum which is decorated in an entirely different manner. It is dated 1637, and bound in black morocco, the sides are divided into panels by a series of eight straight lines parallel with the edges of the book excellently mitred with floral ornaments at the corners, and a centre decoration of small stamps.

This book came to the Museum with the old Royal Collection, and is supposed to have belonged to Charles I. It is, however, doubtful if it is the actual copy asked for by him, as John Ferrar describes this as: 'bound curiously in purple velvet;[1] and that

[1] Not only in this point is John Ferrar clear in his description, but Peckard also says: 'about October 1636, Mr. Ferrar and his assistants compleated the Harmony of the two books of the Kings and the Chronicles, and young Nicholas Ferrar bound it in purple velvet most richly guilt.' Dr. Jebb says: 'bound up in purple velvet richly gilt.'

also most artificially gilt upon the velvet in an extraordinary manner,' with a 'stately string,' he also calls it 'a stately great book.' Although the Museum copy is large, measuring 16½ × 11 inches, it cannot be called a very large book, and although it has had silk ties, they could never have been stately. Therefore, I think, there was another copy which is now lost, and that the Museum copy is the one about which John Ferrar says: 'There is intention and preparation making to make a second piece in this kind.'

I have now described in detail all the eleven Little Gidding bindings now known to exist, with the exception of that of the *Harmony of the Gospels* in the possession of Captain Acland-Troyte, who at the time of my writing this article is absent from England, and of the volume formerly in the library of Lord Arthur Hervey, the present ownership of which I am unable to trace.

Although no doubt much of the Little Gidding work was destroyed there in 1647, it is quite possible that some other examples still exist unrecognised, and I can only hope that the drawings and coloured plates which accompany this paper may be the means of identifying some such work, which is almost certain to resemble one or other of the illustrations given.

CYRIL DAVENPORT.

ENGLISH PROVINCIAL PRESSES

IN this second article we have to glance briefly at the history of several presses of great interest, that of the Dutch Refugees in Norwich, the private press of Archbishop Parker, the Puritan press of Wandsworth and 'Hempstead,' the Jesuit press of Greenstreet and Stonor, the settlement on a firm basis of printing at the Universities, and, lastly, the fugitive press, from which issued the famous Marprelate pamphlets.[1]

XI.—NORWICH, 1566?-1580

During the persecutions in the Netherlands under the Duke of Alva, there was a considerable influx of the inhabitants of those countries into the south-eastern parts of England, and a great number of them found a welcome home in the city of Norwich.

Here settled one Anthony de Solemne or Solempne, introducing the art of printing, which, says Blomefield, in his *History of Norfolk*, 'was so well approved of by the city, that they presented him with his freedom.'[2] This was in 1570, when Solemne had also obtained the Queen's authority to exercise his art, as is evidenced by the use

[1] *Newes out of Germanie . . . of a cruell murderer, C. Gempertinga . . . Translated by G. P*[*en*?] is entered in the British Museum catalogue as [*Ipswich*? 1584.] According to Professor Arber, George Pen was an Ipswich bookseller, and published there from 1582-9; but it is improbable that a press was established at Ipswich at this period.

[2] Libr. Introit. Alien. 'Anthony Solen, prynter. Jur. Civ. 1570.'

of the royal arms and the words, 'Godt bewaer de Coninginne Elizabeth' in his *Calendier Historiael.* The royal protection was necessary in order to save him from the interference of the London Stationers' Company. Solemne, however, had already printed three books at Norwich in 1568. A copy of one of these in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, *De C.L. Psalmen Dauids*, is bound with another Dutch book, dated 1566. This latter, entitled *Der Siecken troost*, although the place of production does not appear, and it is without printer's name, may also have issued from Solemne's Norwich press, the printer not owning it, as not having then obtained the Queen's licence to print.

The productions of this press, all remarkably scarce, and mostly printed by Solemne for the use of his countrymen in their own language, are as follow:—

1. Der Siecken troost, Onderwijsinghe om gewillichlick te steruen. Troostinghe / om den siecken tottē rechten gheloue ende betrouwen in Christo te onderwijsen. Ghemeyn bekennisse der sonden / met / scoon gebeden. [Quotation]. ¶ *Ghedruct in Jaer ons Heeren. Anno* 1566. 8°.

A copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

2. De C.L. Psalmen Dauids. Wt den Franchoyschen Dichte in Nederlantschen ouerghesett door Petrum Dathenum. Mitsgaders den Christelicken Catechismo / Ceremonien eñ Gebeden. ¶ Item / hier is byghenoecht op die cant den Duytschen Text / ouerghesett wt den Hebreeuschen van veerse tot veerse / naer wtwijsen tghetal: eñ na elcken Psalm een Gebet: mit gaders een cort Fondament van der Musica. Van nieus ouersien ende ghecorrigeert. [Ornament.] *Tot Noorwitz,* ¶ *Gheprint by Anthonium de Solemne* / Anno M.D.LXVIII. 8°

Two copies in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and one in the Bodleian.

3. Het Nieuwe Testament. Dat is: Het nieuwe Uerbont onses Heeren Jesu Christi: In Nederduytsche / na der Griecscher waerheyt ouergeset. Met de Annotatien August Marlorati / aldereerst ouergheset wt de Franchoysche inde Nederduytsche Sprake. [Oval ornament, with text round margin, representing the cutting down and casting into the fire the unfruitful tree.] *Ghedruct int Jaer* 1568. 8°.

A copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

4. Belijdenisse ende eenvoudige wtleggінge des waerachtigen gheloofs .... in Switzerlant, 1561. *Gheprint tot Nordwitz by Antonium de Solemne.*

This title is from the Catalogue of the Caxton Exhibition, 1877, where it was exhibited on loan from the present Lord Amherst of Hackney, on account of whose absence from England I can only add what Archdeacon Cotton says of it from a copy once in the possession of Mr. Boone, of New Bond Street—*A Confession of Faith, by the Ministers of the Church of Jesus Christ in Switzerland and in France*; 'Nordwitz, by Antonium Solemne, 1568,' small 8° (foll. 110, and register six leaves unnumbered).

5. Tableau de l'Oeuvre de Dieu 1569 . . . A. C. $\frac{15}{7}$: Divinorum Operum Tabula. . . . Serenissimæ Elizabethæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Reginæ, Antonius Corranus Hispallensis, in signum memoriamque grati animi, ob hospitalitatem in hoc regno acceptam, quum in Angliam, propter Evangelicæ veritatis professionem extorris appulisset, humanissimeque esset exceptus: offert hanc Tabulam, pro xeniolo hujus Novi Anni, 1570.

Corranus was pastor of the Spanish Protestant congregation at Antwerp; but fled to England on the persecution of Alva. The publication of these

Tables involved him in some trouble for the time with members of the French and Italian churches in London, the matters in dispute being referred to Archbishop Grindal, in whose *Life and Acts*, by Strype, occurs this passage: 'Corranus of late hath caused a Table, intitled, *De Operibus Dei*, wrote by him in French, to be printed in Norwich, not offering the same to be examined here before it was printed.' Corranus himself says, in his *Theological Dialogue*, 1575, 'I wrate at London certeyne Tables concerning Gods works, which were printed in four Languages, Latin, French, Dutche, and English. In the short Articles of those Tables I endeuered to comprehende as it were in propositions, the holy doctrine of bothe the Testamentes.' No copy of the Dutch or English version is now known to exist; but in the *Third Supplement to C. J. Stewart's Catalogue*, issued in April 1863, are copies of the French and Latin, described as broadsides, folded in two, and placed in a morocco case. Price, £21!

Corranus in 1571 was Reader of Divinity at the Temple, and afterwards at Oxford, joined the Church of England, and obtained a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral.

6. Certayne versis / writtene by Thomas Brooke Gētleman / in the tyme of his imprysōment / the daye before his deathe / who sufferyd at Norwich / the . 30 . of August. 1570. [At end:—] Finis / Q Thomas Brooke. ☞ Seane / and allowyd / accordynge to the Quenes Maiestyes Iniunction. God saue the Quene. ☞ *Imprynted at Norwich in the Paryshe of Saynct Andrewe / by Anthony de Solempne.* 1570.

A broadside measuring 12 × 10¾ inches, printed in a good, bold black-letter type. Of this, the only known specimen now extant of Solempne's printing in the English language, an unique copy exists in

the Bodleian Library. It has been reprinted in *Leland's Collectanea*, 1715, vi. 41.

7. Eenen Calendier Historiael / eewelick gheduerende. Waer in ghy vinden sult den Opganck ende onderganck der Sonnen / in alle Maenden / met den Iaermercten van diuersche Landen / Steden ende Vrijheden. [Royal arms within garter, crowned.] *Ghedrucht tot Noorwitz / ten huyse van Anthonium de Solemne / Anno*. M. D. LXX. Godt bewaer de Coninginne Elizabeth. 8°.

Eight leaves printed in red and black. Two copies in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and one in the Bodleian.

8. Het tvveede boeck, Vande sermoenen des wel vermaerden Predicants B. Cornelis Adriaensen van Dordrecht / Minrebroeder tot Brugge. Waer van d'inhouden begrepen staet int navolgēde bladt. [Woodcut of preacher in pulpit, with text from Rom. 3.] *Nv eerstmael in Druck vuyt-gegeuen, buyten Noirdvvitz.* 1578. 8°.

A copy in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and one in the possession of Lord Amherst.

9. Chronyc. *Historie der Nederlandtscher Oorlogen* / Troublen eñ oproeren oorspronck / anuanck eñ eynde / Item den Standt der Religien / tot desen Iare 1580. Beschreuen durch den hoochgeleerden Heren Adam Henricipetri / Docteur by den Rechten tot Basel / also hy schriftelick van een Ractshere te Bruessel ontfanghen heft / allen Liefhebberen der Christelicker Religion seer profijtelick ende ten dienste wtghegeuen. *VVt den Hoochduytschen in onse Ne*-derlantsche sprake getrouwelick ouergesedt *Mitzgaders diuersche Copien vā Sent* brieuen, Placcaten, Accoorden van peysen, Vnien, Articlen eñ Verbon-tenissen, in Nederlant gepubliceert eñ wtgegaen. *Gedruct tot Norrtwitz na de Copie van Basel. Anno* 1579. 8°.

Copies in the Bodleian, University Library, Cambridge, and in the possession of Lord Amherst. Title in black and red.

XII.—LAMBETH, 1572

'I have within my house in wagis, drawers and cutters, paynters, lymmers, wryters, and boke-bynders.' So says Archbishop Parker, writing to Lord Treasurer Burghley, under date May xiiii, 1573, and sending him three books, one of which was his own private production,

> De antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ & Priuilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis eiusdem 70. An. Dom. 1572. Folio.

This title is within an elaborately emblematic, but inappropriate woodcut compartment, representing Ptolomeus, Marinus, Aratus, Strabo, Hipparchus, Polibius, Geometria, Astronomia, Arithmetica, Musica, and a fat Mercurius fully clothed in doublet and jerkin, seated on clouds with the caduceus in his right hand. This same emblematic cut was much more appropriately used some years before for the title-page of William Cuningham's *Cosmographical Glasse*, 'Excussum Londini in officina Ioan. Daij Typographi. Anno 1559.'

That the Archbishop's book was printed by John Day is generally acknowledged; but that the printing was performed in Lambeth Palace has been disputed. The Bodleian Library possesses two copies, in one of which is the following inscription: '5to Januarij 1593. Hunc librum dono dedit Richardo Cosin Johannes Parker armiger filius primogenitus Matthei Parker nuper Cantuariensis Archiep̃i cuius auspiciis et sumptibus liber iste et collectus et impressus est proprijs in ædibus Lamethæ positis.' It seems, therefore, that the book was really printed at Lambeth, and that Day supplied the workmen, printing-press, and materials, and probably exercised

a general superintendence. Strype, in his *Life of Parker*, iii. 344, gives a list of the Archbishop's debts and funeral charges, among which occurs, 'To Richard Ing, printer, in full 4. 0. 0.'

Only a very limited number of the book under discussion were printed, and the majority of these were still undistributed when the Archbishop died. Martin, in his *Catalogue of Privately Printed Books*. 1854, says: 'It has been observed that no two copies of this work have been found alike; and I can bear witness to the truth of this assertion in those I have collated.' Martin devotes fourteen pages to his description of the book and the variations of the twenty-one copies of which he gives the whereabouts.

XIII.—Wandsworth and Hempstead, 1572-73

We now enter upon the more acute stage of the religious struggles of the reign of Queen Elizabeth in which we find the supporters of the Roman Catholic faith contending against the Queen's supremacy in matters spiritual, while the advanced Puritanical party were entering the lists against the Bishops.

The extraordinary powers granted to the Company of Stationers under Queen Mary's charter of 1556, confirmed by Elizabeth in 1559, and further strengthened by a Star Chamber decree in 1566, were naturally at the disposal of authority, and this drove both the other parties to print their controversial productions abroad, or to make use of secret presses at home. Some of these latter being located in London are outside our present inquiry; but others worked either a few miles outside the

metropolis or away in more distant parts of the country come within our scope.

The earliest of these secret provincial presses is connected with the name of Thomas Cartwright, and has been assumed to have been located at Wandsworth.

Cartwright, on account of his religious teachings, was deprived of the Lady Margaret Professorship at Cambridge in 1570, and of his Fellowship at Trinity College in 1571, after which he left the country for a while, going eventually to Geneva.

About this time the Bishops and the prevailing mode of Church-government were attacked in a little tract, which gained considerable notoriety, entitled, *An Admonition to the Parliament*. The authors of this tract being discovered to be two London ministers, John Feilde and Thomas Wilcox, they were confined in Newgate, and their imprisonment caused the setting up of the secret press with which, upon his return from abroad, Thomas Cartwright was connected, and from which issued the following:—

1 (*a*). [An introductory address, headed] Grace and peace from God.&c. [dated at end] From my chamber in London / this.30.of September / in Anno.1572. [2 leaves.]

(*b*). An Exhortation to the Byshops to deal Brotherly with theyr Brethren. [4 leaves.]

(*c*). An Exhortation to the bishops and their clergie to aunswer a little booke that came forthe the last Parliament / and to other Brethren to iudge of it by Gods worde / vntill they see it aunswered / and not to be caryed away with any respect of man. [6 leaves.] Sm. 8°.

2. A Second Admonition to the Parliament. [With an address] To the godly readers Grace and peace from God.&c. [36 leaves.] Sm. 8°.

Copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and Trinity College, Cambridge.

3. Certaine Articles, collected and taken (as it is thought) by the Byshops out of a little boke entituled an Admonition to the Parliament / wyth an Answere to the same. Containing a confirmation of the sayde Booke in shorte notes. The Prynter to the Reader.

Thys worke is fynished thankes be to God /
And he only will keepe vs from the searchers rod.
And though master Day and Toy watch & warde /
We hope the liuing God is our sauegarde.
Let them seeke / loke / and doe what they can /
It is but inventions / and pollicies of man.
But you wil maruel where it was fynished /
And you shal knowe (perchance) when domes day is ended.
Imprinted we know where / and whan /
Judge you the place and you can. J. T. J. S.

[8 leaves.] sm. 8°.

Copies in the Bodleian and Trinity College, Cambridge.

Soon after these tracts were issued there appeared, written by Dr. Whitgift afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, *An answere to a certen Libel, intituled, An Admonition to the Parliament*, 1572, at the end of which the above productions of our secret press are also briefly noticed and replied to. A royal proclamation was also issued, dated 11th June 1573, by which the *Admonition* and all other books made for its defence were declared seditious, and their circulation prohibited. In spite, however, of Masters Day and Toy, and the hue and cry after his press, Cartwright succeeded in producing two editions of the following book, the second of which appeared after the above-mentioned proclamation.

4. A Replye to an answere made of M. Doctor Whitegifte agaynste the Admonition to the Parliament. By T. C. 4°.

Copies of both editions are in the British Museum and Bodleian.

In his address, contained in the first edition, the Printer laments 'that the noble Science of Printing . . . should be readyer to wayte vpon the defence of corruptions, then vpon the sinceritye of the trueth,' and regrets that for want of wealth 'to furnishe the Print wyth sufficient varietie of letters' he is compelled 'to vse one letter for three or foure tongues.' He also speaks of his 'want of long training vp in thys mysterie' and of his not being near the author, who only came to him 'when the halfe of the booke was Printed.'

In the second edition the Printer's address is entirely new. He says: 'Some perhaps will maruel at the newe impression of thys boke . . . notwythstanding our most gracious Princes late published proclamation / procured rather by the Byshops / then willingly sought for by her maiestie,' . . . and gives his initials at the end as J. S.

These initials are doubtless correct and represent John Stroud, formerly a Minister at Yalding in Kent, who is known to have had a hand in the production of Cartwright's *Replye*, for which he was called up and examined before the High Commission. But the names of two other printers are also connected with this Press. Bishop Sandys, writing to Lord Burghley, says: 'I have caused to be found and taken in the country a printing-press, with the whole furniture; the printer, called Lacy, with certain others of that confederacy, are also apprehended. They have printed Cartwright's book again, in a fair print, to the number of one thousand, as Lacy voluntarily confesses.' Archbishop Parker, also writing to Lord Burghley in November 1573, says: 'the warden of the printers, Harrison . . . told me that one Asplyn, a printer to Cartwrightes boke, was after examination suffred agayn to go

abrode, and taken in to service in to Master Dayes house, and purposed to kyl hym, and his wyf, &c., and beyng asked what he ment, he answered "The Spryte moued hym," so . . . taken and in preson. . . .

In the *Stationers' Registers* occur two printers named Asplyn; Robert, admitted a freeman, Oct. 5th, 1569, and Thomas, bound to John Day for eight years on March 25th, 1567. The latter is probably our man, a runaway apprentice, discovered and taken back by his master.

And now as to the locality and capture of the press. It has generally been supposed, as before stated, to have been worked at Wandsworth, and this may be partially correct; but there is no doubt that, if so, it was removed thence, and is identical with one seized on the 26th of August 1573, as recorded by Professor Arber in his *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers*, I. 467-9.

Item laide owte the xxvjth of Auguste 1573 for my [John Harrison's] Iorney to Hempsteade with the pursevaunt.	xix^{s}.	
Item to the Carter yat brought the presse	x^{s}.	
Item to ye Constable of Hempsteade for bringing vp ye men	viij^{s}.	vj^{d}.
Item for nailes to naile vpp the chestes		xij^{d}.
Item to the pursevaunt for his paines	xxx^{s}.	
Item receaued of Henrie Bynneman for wearing the letter [*i.e.* for the use of the type] that came from Hempsted	xv^{s}.	

Professor Arber has taken Hampstead to be the place where the press was seized; but from the costs of the journey and the amount paid to the pursuivant, compared with other similar entries in the accounts of the Company of Stationers, it would seem that some place more distant is intended.

This may be either Hemel-Hempstead, Herts, or Hempsted, near Saffron Walden, Essex.

The amount of fifteen shillings paid by Bynneman for 'wearing the letter that came from Hempsted' is repeated in the next year's accounts, and the use to which the type was immediately put is most ironically curious.

In 1574 appeared a fairly thick volume of small folio size, *The defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition, against the Replie of T. C. By Iohn Whitgift, Doctor of Diuinitie. Printed at London by Henry Binneman, for Humfrey Toye.*

In this volume the whole of Cartwright's *Replye* is actually reproduced in the Hempsted fount, Whitgift interpolating his own *Defense*, after each successive section, in a larger and more imposing black-letter. Binneman, however, was able to print Cartwright's Greek quotations, etc., in their proper letter, and to dispense with slanting lines in favour of commas.

The controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift did not end yet, but we are not entitled to follow it further here. A warrant was issued Dec. 11, 1573, for Cartwright's arrest, but he escaped the country and did not return till 1585, after which he evidently moderated his religious views, and died unmolested, December 27, 1603.

XIV.—Greenstreet and Stonor, 1580-81

When, in the year 1580, the two Jesuit fathers, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian, were sent as missionaries into England, the inconvenience of being without a printing-press was soon experienced. Accordingly a press and types were bought, and workmen having been obtained, they were

placed under the superintendence of Mr. Stephen Brinckley, a man of some learning, described as a Bachelor of Civil Law. The difficulty of finding a place in which to work the press was also overcome through the influence of William Brookesby, a young gentleman of good family, who obtained the use of a house called Greenstreet belonging to his father, Edward Brookesby. This house has been variously placed at five, six, and seven miles out of London, and is doubtless identical with Greenstreet[1] House, East Ham, Essex, now known as Boleyn Castle.

The following three books, written by F. Parsons, were probably printed here:—

1. A brief discours contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church. Written by a learned and vertuous man, to a frend of his in England. And dedicated by I. H. to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. [Monogram I. H. S. with a cross above and three nails below, all within a border of flames.]
Imprinted at Doway by Iohn Lyon, 1580. *With privelege.* Sm. 8°. [The Dedication is written in the name of Iohn Howlet.]

2. A Discouerie of I. Nicols minister, misrepresented a Iesuite, latelye recanted in the Tower of London. Wherin besides the declaration of the man, is contayned a ful answere to his recantation, with a confutation of his slaunders, and proofe of the contraries, in the Pope, Cardinals, Clergie, Studentes, and priuate men of Rome. There is also added a reproofe of an oration and sermon, falsely pretended by the sayd Nicols to be made in Rome, and presented to the Pope in his Consistorye. Wherto is annexed a late information from Rome touching the autētical copie of Nicols recantation. [Monogram, with quotations on each side and beneath.] Sm. 8°. [Without imprint.]

3. A brief censvre vppon two bookes written [by William Charke and Meredith Hanmer] in answere to M. Edmonde

[1] A part of Enfield parish, Middlesex, is also called Greenstreet.

Campions offer of disputation. [Quotation from] Deuter. capit. v. ver. 5. [Monogram.]
Imprinted at Doway by Iohn Lyon, 1581. *With privilege.*
Sm. 8°.

Exceptionally fine copies of the above three books are in the Bodleian Library.

Suspicions were presently aroused. Brinckley and his men were in danger of prosecution as recusants for not attending church, and subsequently one of them, being sent into London to procure paper, was seized, imprisoned, and put to the rack, and although he is said to have divulged nothing his friends could not know this. They therefore either dispersed for a time, or immediately removed with their plant to the neighbourhood of Henley-on-Thames.

It has been stated that F. Parsons' *Brief Censure* was printed at Henley Park in the house of Francis Browne, brother of Viscount Montague. Parsons himself, who had to be constantly on the move, to hide and disguise, was certainly being entertained there during the writing of it; but, when written, to convey it to the press either at East Ham or Stonor would be easily managed, and it appears more likely that the printing materials were removed straight away from Green-street House to Stonor Park, where was printed the last and most celebrated book issued from this press, viz.:—

4. Rationes Decem: Quibus fretus Certamen adversariis obtulit in causa Fidei, Edmundus Campianus E Societate Nominis Iesv Presbyter. Allegatæ ad clarissimos viros, nostrates Academicos. [Monogram with quotations from Luke 21, and Ps. 63.] [Colophon:—] Cosmopoli 1581. Sm. 8°.

Only two copies of this book are known to exist, one in the possession of the Marquess of Bute, and

another presented by the same nobleman to the Library at Stonyhurst College. In the same Library are some autobiographical notes written by F. Parsons in 1598, from which, by the kindness of the Rev. J. H. Pollen, S. J., I am enabled to quote the following interesting particulars:—

'Having received F. Campions book de 10 rationibus compounded by him in Lancashire I sent for him to come up and print it himself: and in the meane space I procured another place for a print, to witt a house of my lady Stonar[1] standing in a wood fast by Henly, where Mr. Brinkly also was prefect of the printers and Mr. Wm. Maurice priest was procurator to buy the paper and other necessaries: and F. Campion coming up went to lye there and so printed his book. And after his book was printed & the most parte of the copies sent to Oxford against the Act,[2] which was in the beginning of July, F. Campion and I departed from that house about the 10th August[3] being Munday and upon Sunday after he was taken at Lyford by treason of Eliot, as in his life is sett down.

'I lying in Henly-park at Mr. Fran. Brown's house heard of the taking and passing by & sent Rob. Alfield my man to see him, and within a month after was Mr. Brinkley taken with all the printers and print and carryed bound to London.'

The men taken with Brinckley were John Harris, John Harvey, John Tucker, and John Compton. Compton, of a timid nature, recanted at the point of the sword, and was liberated. Harris, Harvey, and Tucker, were afterwards removed from the Tower to other prisons, and Brinckley, after suffering nearly two years' imprisonment, was discharged on bail, when he went abroad and travelled with F. Parsons, eventually succeeding George Flinton as Catholic printer at Rouen.

As regards Campian it needs only to be said that by means of one George Eliot, a renegade

[1] Cecilia, wife of Sir Francis Stonor, High Sheriff of Oxon, 1592/3.

[2] They were secretly distributed to the extent of over four hundred copies in St. Mary's Church, where the Act (or as we now call it the Encænia or Commemoration) was then held.

[3] Parsons, writing these notes from memory eighteen years later, mistakes the month, which must have been July.

priest-catcher, he was arrested in the house of Mrs. Yates at Lyford, Berks, on the 16th of July 1581, confined and tortured in the Tower of London, and eventually hanged, drawn, and quartered on December 1 following.

IV*b*.—Cambridge, 1583

By letters patent, granted by King Henry VIII., July 20, 1534, the University of Cambridge became entitled to assign and elect, from time to time, three stationers and printers, or sellers of books, residing within the University. Accordingly Nycholas Sperynge, Garret Godfrey, and Segar Nicolsun were in the same year appointed by Grace of the Senate. Although further appointments were made as vacancies occurred, and the Charter thus kept going, we hear of no actual printing done under it for close upon half a century. On the appointment of John Kingston, February 8, 157$\frac{6}{7}$, the establishment of a press must have been contemplated, for on July 18, 1577, Lord Burghley, writing to Dr. Goad, Vice-Chancellor, deprecates the printing of Psalters, Prayer-Books, etc., as interfering with the privileges of some of the London printers.

Thomas Thomas, M.A., of King's College, was appointed University Printer, May 3, 1583. He commenced immediately to print a book by Dr. William Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity; but the press was seized on behalf of the Company of Stationers. Bishop Aylmer, in a letter dated June 1, 1583, thus notifies Lord Burghley of this seizure: 'There was alsoe found one presse and furniture which is saide to belonge to one Thomas a man (as I heare) vtterlie ignoraunte in printinge,

and pretendinge that he entendeth to be the printer for the vniuersitie of Cambridge.'

After some controversy, however, the University eventually established their claim. Lord Burghley, in a letter dated March 16, 1584, in reply to one from the University, stated that he had submitted their Charter to the Master of the Rolls, who concurred with him in the opinion that it was valid.

On July 24, 1584, Thomas entered into recognisances in five hundred marks not to print any book, pamphlet, or paper, until further order should be taken with him by the Lord Treasurer Burghley, Chancellor of the University, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, etc., after he should have finished a book then in hand, entitled—

> Antonii Sadeelis viri clarissimi vereqve theologi de rebus grauissimis controversis Dispvtationes accuratæ theologice et scholastice tractatae: Quarum Catalogum sequens pagina demonstrabit.
> *Ex officina Thomæ Thomasij Inclytæ Academiæ Cantabrigiensis Typographi.* 1584. 4to.

Six other books, bearing date 1584, were produced by Thomas, and at the end of 1588 the new Cambridge press had produced twenty-seven books, including, in the last-named year, a Genevan version of the *New Testament*.

While busily engaged in the superintendence of his press, Thomas was also preparing a *Latin Dictionary*, which he printed in 1587. The strain upon his health thus caused was too great for him, and he died at the early age of thirty-four, August 9, 1588, being buried at Great St. Mary's. His successor was John Legate, who was appointed on November 2, 1588, and died in 1620.

In 1591 appeared a Genevan version of the *Bible* and a *Book of Psalms* in 8°, which brought on a

controversy with the London Printers. In 1594 a Greek book was issued, *J. L. Hawenreuter* Σύνοψις τῆς φυσικῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους.

In 1623 the *Booke of Psalmes* was again printed, which brought the Cambridge Press once more into violent contact with the London Company, and an order of Privy Council was issued, November 29, 1623, that the University printers should not print Bibles, Grammars, Psalms, Psalters, Primers, or Books of Common Law, that they should have but one press, and print no Almanacks, but such whereof the first copy should be brought them. On December 10, in the same year, this prohibition was extended to books of Common Prayer. In 1625 a Greek *New Testament* was printed. At this time upwards of two hundred books had been issued by the University printers.

In 1627 the Privy Council Order appears to have been infringed in the matter of Almanacks, and in 1628 as to Psalms. In this latter year the Authorised Version of the New Testament was also printed. This once more stirred the wrath of the Stationers of London, whose complaint was referred by the Privy Council to the Lords Chief Justices, who, having consulted with the Lord Chief Baron, and all the judges then in town, gave an opinion entirely in favour of the Cambridge printers, that they might print there all manner of books approved by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor and Doctors of the University, notwithstanding any patents for sole printing.

This opinion, however, the Privy Council did not fully endorse, but made an order, April 16, 1629, that the University printers might print any number of English Bibles in quarto and the medium folio, with the Liturgy in the same volume, and the

singing Psalms at the end; but not these alone without the Bibles. And that they might yearly print 3000 of Lily's Grammar, but no more.

Accordingly, in 1629, the Bible, Common Prayer, and Psalms, were all three printed in folio, and during the next year in quarto.

In 1698 the University authorities took the management of the Press into their own hands, and appointed Curators, afterwards called Syndics, with Cornelius Crownfield as their business adviser.

In 1758, John Baskerville, type-founder and printer, of Birmingham, was appointed Printer to the University for ten years. Baskerville was noted for the elegance of his printing, hence no doubt his appointment. In 1763 he brought out, for the University, a Bible in folio, but apparently not much to his own pecuniary advantage.

Thomas and Legate had their printing-office in Regent Walk opposite the west door of St. Mary's. Other premises were afterwards occupied by Thomas Buck, and in 1655 a new printing-office was built in Silver Street and continued in use until the present Pitt Press was started. This was erected by subscription to do honour to the memory of one of England's greatest statesmen, the second William Pitt, a son of Alma Mater. The foundation-stone was laid by the Marquess Camden, October 18th, 1831, and the building completed in 1833.[1].

Ic.—Oxford, 1585

For the establishment of the third Oxford Press the University was indebted to her Chancellor,

[1] More detailed information concerning the Cambridge Press will be found in Mr. R. Bowes' *Biographical Notes on the University Printers. Cambr. Antiq. Soc.* 1884; and in his *Catalogue of Cambridge Books*, with Mr. Jenkinson's *List* at the end.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and, as might be expected, the first book issued from it is dedicated to him.

Speculum moralium quaestionum in universam ethicen Aristotelis, Authore Magistro Iohanne Caso Oxoniensi, olim Collegij Diui Iohannis Præcursoris Socio.
Oxoniae, Ex officina Typographica Iosephi Barnesii Celeberrimæ Academiæ Oxoniensis Typograpi, Anno 1585. 4°.

In stating the reasons for dedicating his book to the Earl of Leicester, the author says: 'Unum est novum hoc præli beneficium, quod te authore nostra Academia nuper recepit. . . . Ne ergo author libelli præli authori videatur ingratus, tibi primum ejusdem fructum ex animo propinavit. . . .' There is also an address by the printer, in which he makes mention of Thomas Thomas his Cambridge colleague, of William Caxton, and of Iohannes Faustus as the inventor of printing at Mentz, 'Anno 1450.'

It appears, however, that an earlier specimen of printing from this press exists in a single leaf containing eight elegiac lines on the visit to Oxford of the Earl of Leicester in January 158$\frac{4}{5}$.

In adventum illustrissimi Lecestrensis Comitis ad Collegium Lincolniense. [Arms of the University.] Carmen gratulatorium. . . . *Oxoniæ Ex ædibus Iosephi Bdrnes tertio Idus Ianuarij*, 1585. 4°.

The first book printed by Barnes in the Greek language was:—

D. Ioannis Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, Homiliæ sex, Ex manuscriptis Codicibus Noui Collegij; Ioannis Harmari, eiusdem Collegij socij, & Græcarum literarum in inclyta Oxoniensi Academia Professoris Regij, opera & industria nunc primùm græcè in lucem editæ.
Oxonii, Ex officina typographica Iosephi Barnesii, Anno Domini CIↃIↃXXCVI. sm. 8°.

The editor, in his Latin dedication, says that he had intended to dedicate this book to the Earl of Leicester; but as his Excellency was busily engaged in foreign parts, he offers it, as the first-fruits 'typographici nostri in græcis literis præli,' to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley.

The Oxford Press from this time became firmly established, and book after book was issued from it in English, Latin, and Greek. The first Welsh book, printed in 1595, was a translation, by Hugh Lewis of Otho Wermueller's *Spiritual and most precious Pearl*, from the English version (of the original German), by Miles Coverdale. In 1596, two distinct founts of Hebrew type are brought into use for quotations. There does not, however, seem as yet to have been much call for Hebrew type, and the stock was probably small, for in a sermon by Dr. Thomas Holland, printed in 1601, although Hebrew type is used for some of the quotations, others are set up in English characters, and so late as 1620, we find Bodley's Librarian cataloguing his Hebrew titles in Latin, 'propter typorum defectum.' In a book by Stephen Nettles, dated 1625, Mr. Madan[1] says: 'Hebrew Pica (unpointed) type is freely used, for the first time.' The earliest distinctly Hebrew book from the Oxford Press, however, appears to be V. Bythner's Hebrew Grammar, *Lingua Eruditorum*, printed in pointed type 'Impensis Authoris' in 1638 by William Turner, who apologises to the reader because his Hebrew fount is defective in two instances.

Joseph Barnes, the printer, was admitted a bookseller, September 8, 1573. On August 15, 1584, the University lent him £100 with which

[1] *The Early Oxford Press: a Bibliography . . . '1468'-1640. By Falconer Madan, M.A.*, 1895.

to set up a press, and he was sole printer to the University from 1585 till his resignation, February 12, 1617. During this period Barnes printed upwards of three hundred books. He lived for nearly two years afterwards, and was buried at St. Mary's, December 17, 1618.

The celebrated Greek types and matrices of Sir Henry Savile, used for printing at Eton his edition of *St. Chrysostom* 1610-13, were given by that knight to the University of Oxford; but in what year is not certain. They are mentioned under the head of 'Munificentia Savilii,' in a volume of Latin and other poems on Sir Henry's death, entitled *Ultima linea Savilii*, etc. *Oxford*, 1622, 4°.

The next great benefactor to the Oxford Press was Archbishop Laud, who in 1632 obtained from the King a Patent whereby the University was privileged to have three printers. In the following year a further privilege was also granted, each printer being allowed two presses and two apprentices.

In his letters to Convocation accompanying the Patent, Laud says: 'though your Patents be large, yet coming over the heads of the King's Printers and other stationers here in London, I shall advise you not to suffer any of your Printers as yet, to print Bibles, service-books, grammars, primers, &c. (which caused the late and chargeable controversy betwixt Cambridge and them), but let your privilege settle awhile and gather strength quietly.' Accordingly the first Oxford Bible, the first Book of Common Prayer, and the first Greek Testament are all three dated 1675, though the colophon to the *Bible* says 1673.

During the Civil War, Proclamations and Declarations of King Charles I., besides many Royalist pamphlets, were issued by the University printers,

and a Press was furnished to attend his Majesty's army from place to place, for which more than £600 was stated to be still owing in 1684. In 1667 Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, afterwards bishop of Oxford, presented the University with a complete type-foundry for all sorts of letters, Hebrew, Greek, and Oriental, as well as Roman, Italic, Black-letter English, etc.

Hitherto printing operations had been carried on in private premises, those of Leonard Lichfield being destroyed in the great Oxford fire of 1644.

The first provision of a special home for the Press was through the munificence of Archbishop Sheldon. A site having been purchased of the city, the Archbishop defrayed the whole cost of building the Theatre, which goes by his name, the foundation-stone being laid July 26, 1664. The first production of the Press in its new quarters was, very appropriately, a Pindaric Ode in praise of the Theatre and its founder, by Corbet Owen, of Christ Church, 1669.

Here the Press flourished for nearly half a century, when, partly out of the profits arising from the copyright of Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, the original Clarendon Printing-House was erected, and occupied in October 1713.

The business of the Press having outgrown even these commodious premises, the present magnificent structure in Walton Street was built for its accommodation, and occupied in September 1830.

XV.—Marprelate Press, 1588-89[1]

In 1587 appeared the provoker of Martin Marprelate, *A defence of the government established*

[1] I desire to record the use made in this article of Professor Arber's *Introductory sketch to the Martin Marprelate controversy*, 1880.

in the Church of England. . . . Contayning an aunswere vnto a Treatise . . . intituled,[1] *A briefe and plaine declaration concerning the desires of all the faithful Ministers that have, and do seeke for the discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande. Comprehending likewise an aunswere to . . . a Treatise named The iudgment of a most Reuerend and Learned man*[2] *from beyond the Seas, &c. . . . by Iohn Bridges, Deane of Sarum.*

In April 1588 there were circulated copies of an anonymous Puritan tract, written by John Udall, entitled *The state of the Church of Englande, laide open in a conference betweene Diotrephes a Byshopp, Tertullus a Papiste, Demetrius a vserer, Pandochus an Inne-keeper, and Paule a preacher of the worde of God.* This was secretly printed in London by Robert Waldegrave, whose press and letters, with divers copies of the tract, were seized, on the 16th of April, on behalf of the Company of Stationers. On May 13th following an order was made 'That the said books shall be burnte, and the said presse, letters and printing stuffe defaced and made unserviceable.'

Waldegrave, however, managed to save some of his types, which were conveyed to the house of Mistress Crane in London, and afterwards removed to the same lady's country house at East Molesey, Surrey.

Here Waldegrave printed another anonymous tract by John Udall, which, though not strictly belonging to the Marprelate series, must be considered a sort of forerunner. It is printed in the same type as some of the later Marprelate tracts,

[1] An anonymous treatise, printed by Robert Walde-grave, 1584.
[2] Theodore Beza, translated by John Field. Printed about 1580-5, without place, date, or printer's name.

and we therefore include it in our numbering as

1. A demonstration of the trueth of that Discipline which Christe hath prescribed in his worde for the governement of his Church, in all times and places, vntill the ende of the worlde. Wherein are gathered into a plaine forme of reasoning, the proofes thereof, out of the scriptures, the euidence of it by the light of reason rightly ruled, and the testimonies that haue beene giuen therevnto, by the course of the Churche certaine hundreths of yeares after the Apostles time; and the generall consent of the Churches rightly reformed in these latter times: according as they are alleaged and maintained, in those seuerall bookes that haue bin written concerning the same. Sm. 8°.

It was secretly printed by Waldegrave at East Molesey in July, and issued in November 1588. Copies are in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries.

We now come to the first Marprelate tract, secretly printed at East Molesey in October, and issued with the above-named tract in November 1588. This, generally known as *The Epistle*, bears on its title as follows:—

2. Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges / for it is a worthy worke: ❧ Or an epitome of the fyrste Booke / of that right worshipfull volume / written against the Puritanes / in the defence of the noble cleargie / by as worshipfull a prieste / Iohn Bridges / Presbyter / Priest or elder / doctor of Diuillitie / and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented / that when they come to answere M. Doctor / they must needes say something that hath bene spoken.
Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the Parsons / Fyckers / and Currats / that have lernt their Catechismes / and are past grace: By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate gentleman / and dedicated to the Confocationhouse.
The Epitome is not yet published / but it shall be when the Bishops are at conuenient leysure to view the same.

In the meane time / let them be content with this learned Epistle.

Printed oversea in Europe / within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest / at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate / gentleman. 4to.

Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian.

The press was now removed to the house of Sir Richard Knightley, at Fawsley, near Daventry, where was printed and issued about the 2nd of February $158\frac{8}{9}$, what is known as *The Epitome.*

3. [A line of ornaments.] Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges / [as in *The Epistle.*]
Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the vnpreaching Parsons / Fyckers / and Currats / that haue lernt their Catechismes / and are past grace: By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelat gentleman / and dedicated by a second Epistle to the Terrible Priests.

In this Epitome / the foresaide Fickers / &c. are very insufficiently furnished / with notable inabilitie of most vincible reasons / to answere the cauill of the puritanes.

And lest M. Doctor should thinke that no man can write without sence but his selfe / the senceles titles of the seueral pages / and the handling of the matter throughout the Epitome / shewe plainely / that beetleheaded ignoraunce / must not liue and die with him alone.

Printed on the other hand of some of the Priests. 4to.

Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian.

After the printing of the above *Epitome*, some time in January $158\frac{8}{9}$, the press was carried to a farm-house belonging to Sir R. Knightley, at Norton, near Daventry; but nothing was printed there, and a fortnight after it was taken to the house of John Hales, Esq., called White Friars, at Coventry. Here Waldegrave printed the following three pieces:—

4. Certaine Minerall and Metaphisicall Schoolpoints to be defended by the reuerende Bishops and the rest of my cleargie masters of the Conuocation house against both

the Vniversities and al the reformed Churches in Christendome. Wherin is layd open the very Quintessence of all Catercorner diuinitie.

And with all to the preuenting of the Cauels of these wrangling Puritans the persons by whom and the places where these misteries are so worthely maintayned are for the most part plainly set downe to the view of all men and to the ternall prayse of the most reuerend Fathers.

This broadside was issued about February 158$\frac{8}{9}$. The only copy known is in Lambeth Palace Library.

5. A viewe of some part of such publike wants & disorders as are in the seruice of God, within her Maiesties countrie of Wales, togither with an humble Petition, vnto this high Court of Parliament for their speedy redresse.

Wherein is shewed, not only the necessitie of reforming the state of religion among that people, but also the onely way, in regarde of substaunce, to bring that reformation to passe. Sm. 8vo.

A copy in the British Museum. Signed at the end 'IOHN PENRI,' and known as the *Supplication*. Issued about March 9th, 158$\frac{8}{9}$. Though not, strictly speaking, a Marprelate tract, it was printed at the Marprelate press, and must therefore be included in our numbering.

6. Hay any worke for[1] Cooper: Or a brief Pistle directed by way of an hublication to the reverende Byshopps / counselling them / if they will needs be barrelled vp / for feare of smelling in the nostrels of her Maiestie & the State / that they would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin / for the prouiding of their Cooper. Because the reuerend T.C. (by which misticall letters / is vnderstood / eyther the bounsing Parson of Eastmeane, or Tom Coakes his Chaplaine) to bee an vnskilfull and a beceytfull tubtrimmer.

Wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man I warrant

[1] Dr. Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, author of *An Admonition to the People of England*, to which this is a reply.

you / in the modest defence of his selfe and his learned Pistles / and makes the Coopers hoopes to flye off / and the Bishops Tubs to leake out of all crye.

Penned and compiled by Martin the Metropolitane.

Printed in Europe / not farre from some of the Bounsing Priestes. 4to.

Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian. This was issued about the 23rd of March 1589. Soon afterwards, Waldegrave, alarmed for his personal safety, fled the country, taking with him the black-letter types used in printing Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 6. He went first to Rochelle and afterwards to Edinburgh, where in 1590 he was appointed King's Printer. On the accession of James I. to the English throne, he returned to London and died soon after. He was the son of Rychard Walgrave of Blackley, county Worcester, and was apprenticed to Wylliam Greffeth from June 1568 for eight years.

After the flight of Waldegrave another printer was eventually obtained, one John Hoskins, otherwise written Hodgkins and Hodkys, called also by the Rev. M. Sutcliffe,[1] in 1595, 'Hodgskin a saltpeterman.' He is not identifiable from the Stationers' Registers; but his two workmen are. One, a compositor, was 'Valentyne Symmes sonne of Richard Symmes of Adderbury in the county of Oxford. . . . Apprentyce to Henry Sutton' from Christmas 1576; made free March 8, 1585; afterwards a master-printer in London 1594 to 1612. The other was 'Arthure Thomlyn Admitted a freeman . . . Sept. 25, 1581,' after an apprenticeship to Thomas Easte.

The press was now removed to the house of Roger Wigston, Wolston Priory, half-way between

[1] In his *Reply to Job Throckmorton.*

Coventry and Rugby, where the following two books were printed :—

7. Theses Martinianae : That is, certaine demonstrative Conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowmed Clarke, the reuerend Martin Marprelate the great : seruing as a manifest and sufficient confutation of al that euer the Colledge of Catercaps with their whole band of Clergie-priests, haue, or can bring for the defence of their ambitious and Anti-christian Prelacie.

Published and set foorth as an after-birth of the noble Gentleman himselfe, by a prety stripling of his, Martin Ivnior, and dedicated by him to his good neame and nuncka, Maister Iohn Kankerbury : How the yong man came by them, the Reader shall vnderstande sufficiently in the Epilogue. In the meane time, whosoeuer can bring mee acquainted with my father, Ile be bounde hee shall not loose his labour.

Printed by the assignes of Martin Iunior, without any priuiledge of the Catercaps. Sm. 8vo.

Copies are in the British Museum and Bodleian. 'Martin Iuniors Epilogue' is dated at end 'Iuly 22. 1589.'

8. The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior. Wherein the rash and vndiscreete headines of the foolish youth, is sharply mette with, and the boy hath his lesson taught him, I warrant you, by his reuerend and elder brother, Martin Senior, sonne and heire vnto the renowmed Martin Mar-prelate he great. Where also, least the springall shold be vtterly discouraged in his good meaning, you shall finde, that hee is not bereaued of his due commendations. Sm. 8vo.

This book was issued about the same time as the *Theses Martinianae*, and is known as *Martin Senior*. Copies are in the British Museum and Bodleian.

After the printing of these two books a press, letters, ink, etc., were sent from Wolston to Warrington in Lancashire, as confessed by the carter, 'immediately after Whitsontyde'; but there would

seem to be some error here, for *Martin Junior's Epilogue*, printed at Wolston, is dated July 22. Nothing, however, appears to have been printed at Warrington, and the printers were surprised and captured by the Earl of Derby, some time in August 1589, at a house in Newton Lane, near Manchester. When taken, they had printed about six quires of one side of a book, which of course never came out, entitled *More Worke for the Cooper*.

We have it in evidence that, on the journey to London as prisoners, Hodgkins told Symmes there was still 'a Press at Master Weekstons and some Lettres, and also two sortes of Lettres at a Marchants Howse in London.'

This brings us to the last of the Marprelate tracts, which bears remarkable signs of the scarcity of types available, and of the inexperience of the printer.

9. The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat Wherin notwithstanding the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known vnto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, Antichristian pope, tiranous prellate, nor godlesse catercap: but defiethe all the race of them by these presents and offereth conditionally, as is farthere expressed hearin by open disputation to apear in the defence of his caus against them and theirs.

Which chaleng if they dare not maintaine against him: then doth he alsoe publishe that he neuer meaneth by the assistaunce of god to leaue the assayling of them and theire generation vntill they be vterly extinguised out of our church.

Published by the worthie gentleman D. martin marprelat D. in all the faculties primat and metropolitan. Sm. 8vo.

This was printed in the house of Job Throckmorton, Esq., at Haseley, near Warwick, about September 1589. A copy is in the Bodleian Library.

The authorship of the Marprelate tracts has always been a vexed question. The principal

author was undoubtedly John Penry, born in Brecknockshire in 1559, matriculated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, December 3, 1580; B.A., 158$\frac{3}{4}$; migrated to St. Alban Hall, Oxford; M.A., July 11, 1586; married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Godly of Northampton. Penry fled to Scotland in 1589, after the capture of the press and printers; but returning to England, was seized and tried on a false charge, really for his share in the Marprelate attack on the Bishops. He was executed, May 29, 1593.

The above-named Job Throckmorton has also been considered a participator in the authorship. He was a wealthy country gentleman, and no doubt contributed funds.

Another man who perhaps had a hand in the composition of some of the tracts was John Udall (already mentioned), matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, March 15, 157$\frac{7}{8}$; afterwards migrated to Trinity; M.A., 1584; minister at Kingston-on-Thames; deprived, 1588; imprisoned, tried, and sentenced to death at Southwark Assizes, February 159$\frac{0}{1}$. He was, however, not executed; but died in the Marshalsea Prison, towards the end of 1592.

After the Marprelate Press was removed from its first home at East Molesey, among other people connected with it, Humphrey Newman, described as a cobbler in London, was the principal distributor, while the bookbinder was Henry Sharpe of Northampton. The latter, son of Rycharde Sharpe, late of Torceter, Northamptonshire, was apprenticed for ten years from March 25, 1566, to Rycharde Lynell, and was made free of the Stationers' Company, June 15, 1579.

W. H. ALLNUTT.

ROBINSON CRUSOE AND ITS ILLUSTRATORS

DESPITE the dictum of Charles Lamb, who spoke of it as only 'holding its place with men by tough prescription,' *Robinson Crusoe* has long been recognised, both by general acclaim and by the verdict of such critics as Johnson, Scott, and Landor, as one of those rare books which are fascinating alike to young and old. In this place I propose to deal with its illustrators, not that it will be possible even to mention them all, for their name is legion, from the unknown designer of the frontispiece of the first edition to the Frenchman Marillier, from Marillier to Stothard, from Stothard to George Cruikshank, and from George Cruikshank to our present-day artists. Dozens have tried their hand at it. Some may have succeeded. It is certain that more have failed.

It was on April 25, 1719, that

'THE LIFE AND STRANGE SURPRISING ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE OF YORK, MARINER; who lived eight and twenty years, all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of AMERICA, near the mouth of the The Great River of OROONOQUE; Having been cast on Shore by Ship-wreck where-in all the men perished but himself. WITH An Account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by PYRATES. Written by Himself. LONDON Printed for W. Taylor at the SHIP in PATER-NOSTER ROW. MDCCXIX.'

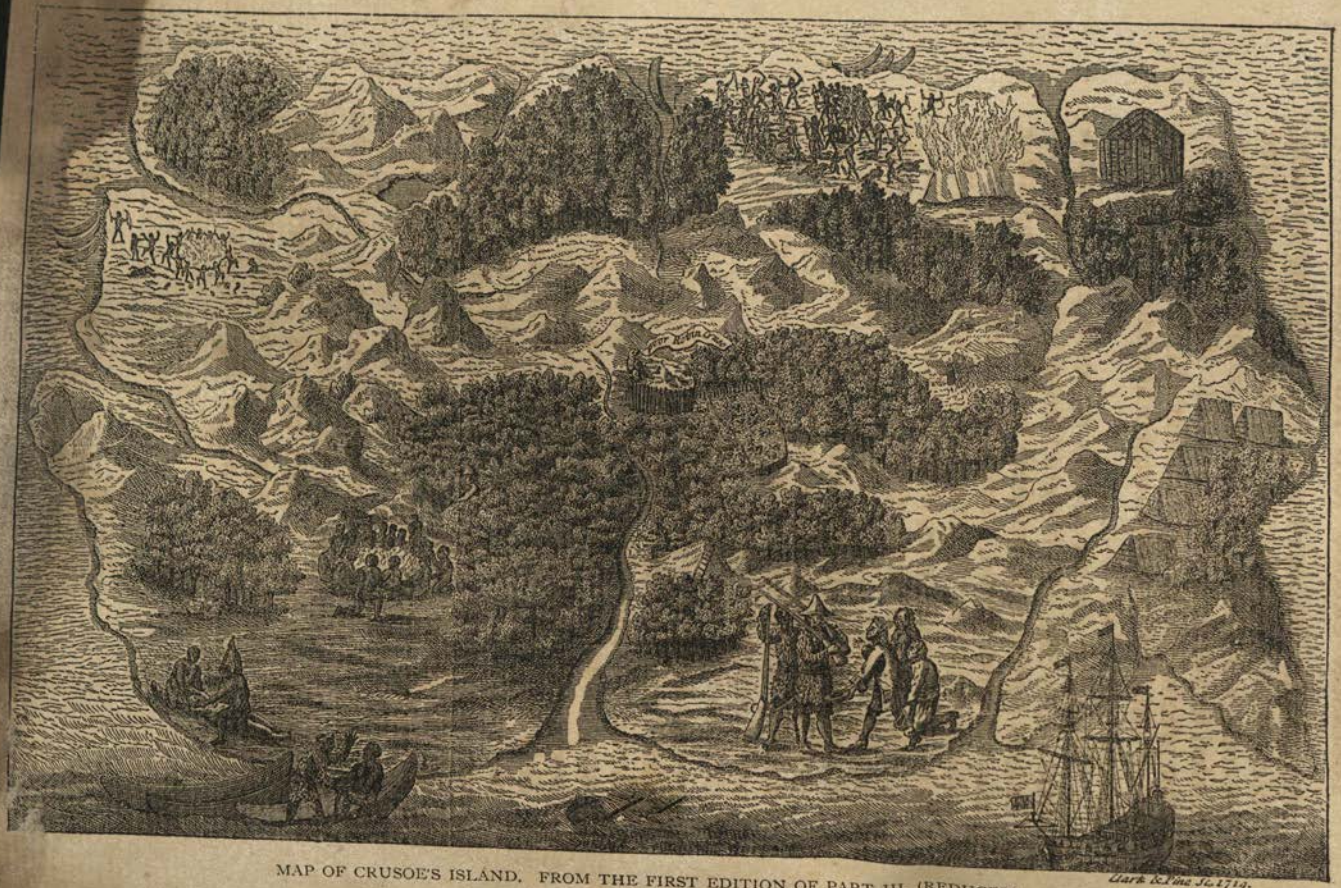
first saw the light.

This first edition was an octavo volume of 364 pages (besides two of preface), with a rough engraving of the hero as frontispiece, an illustration weak

FRONTISPIECE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF *ROBINSON CRUSOE*

and without distinction in its execution, but of considerable importance in that here was given the prototype of all future representations of Robinson Crusoe, a prototype which was to influence one way or another and, to a certain extent, dominate almost every English illustrator of his 'life and strange surprising adventures.'

Reference to the facsimile of the frontispiece here given will show that the unknown artist, with an economy of means often practised by the great masters in painting, has synchronised upon his canvas events of impossible concurrence. Visitors to the Accademia at Venice will remember Tintoret's 'Adam and Eve,' in which is represented the temptation of the young Father of the human race by the irresistible Mother of us all, who holds the apple which was not to be refused. In this most glowing and glorious picture the master has not only disregarded all historic probability by setting the lovely pair upon seats of hewn stone, but has not hesitated to represent them in duplicate in the background as driven out of Paradise by the Angel with the flaming sword. So it is with our unknown artist, who, oblivious of the proper sequence of events, has represented Crusoe in the foreground, dressed in the hirsute costume which he certainly did not find it necessary to assume until he had been more than two years upon the island, whilst, in the background, the ship has but just struck upon the rocks with sails full set, and masts and rigging uninjured by the storm. It may be objected by some that the vessel depicted is the Spanish ship which was wrecked some years later, but it must be remembered that this was so far out at sea that Crusoe could not, even with his glass, distinguish whether it was a sail or a hull,



MAP OF CRUSOE'S ISLAND. FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF PART III. (REDUCED)

whereas this ship is close at hand, tallying with the description of his own vessel, which, when the tide was out, was but a quarter of a mile from shore. Added to which, Robinson's look.of absolute uncon-cern precludes the notion that this was the occur-rence which at the time caused him such uneasiness and perturbation.

The artist's habit of thus representing, as simul-taneous, events which were transacted at long inter-vals, is further exemplified in the very remarkable map of the island, here reproduced, which was published in the 'Serious Reflections,' as the third part of the adventures was called, issued in 1720.

The central feature, it will be noted, is the gigantic parrot. In the foreground on the left the nineteen cannibals are seated round their horrible feast, with Robinson peering at them from a wood close by, whilst two of their number proceed to des-patch a further victim.

This latter, it will be remembered, Crusoe and Friday forthwith proceed to rescue, slaughtering, with the Spaniard's assistance, all but two of his enemies. These taking to flight by sea, our heroes essay to follow, when, in the canoe in which they proceed to embark, Friday discovers his old father. This touching scene is represented by the artist as being enacted simultaneously with the unhappy ex-perience of the Spaniard, the undisturbed feast of the savages, and the stealthy approach towards them of Crusoe, which were all things of the past before this filial recognition took place.

Following the coast-line further to the west, we find a representation of that horrible orgy, where no less than thirty naked savages are dancing 'in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way round the fire,' from which

Robinson rescued another intended victim, who subsequently became his faithful servant Friday, and figures, as I have said above, in the foreground of the picture. Proceeding further round the island to the north-east corner, we find that bloody fight in progress, an account of which is given in *The Further Adventures*, and which took place some years later, between the time of Crusoe's leaving and re-visiting the island. Finally, to the south-east, we have Crusoe to the rescue again in the case of the commander of the Spanish ship, his mate, and the passenger, whom the mutinous crew are proceeding to maroon, whilst the ship in which our hero finally sails away from the island rides in the offing.

So much for the illustrations to the first edition.

The book, as is well known, sprang at once into popularity, and four editions were called for within the year.

The most interesting and curious of these early issues is that in serial form, a copy of which is preserved in the Grenville Library at the British Museum.

This was for some time supposed to have been Crusoe's first appearance, but, as a matter of fact, the second part had been given to the world before the first began to run in No. 125 of the *Original London Post*, or Heathcot's[1] *Intelligencer*. Here it was continued weekly from Wednesday, October 7, 1719, until October 19, 1720, a curious example of a story being given in successive numbers of a periodical after it had been published in book form. My mention of this issue must be apologised for as an excursus, for the two woodcuts which head each

[1] After No. 172 the name is spelt 'Heathcote,' as Mr. Dobson has it in the preface to Mr. Elliot Stock's facsimile of the first edition; so also Brunet and Lowndes.

number, representing a man and a woman with banderoles issuing from their mouths, the one bearing the legend 'London Post,' and the other 'News from Spain,' can hardly be reckoned as properly belonging to my subject.

The following year saw a prompt recognition of the value of the book abroad, a French edition being published in Amsterdam, 'chez l'Honoré et Chatelain,' illustrated by, or under the direction of,[1] the younger Picart, Bernard, the son of Etienne, who in 1710 had left Paris and settled in Amsterdam. He was a distinguished designer and engraver, best known perhaps for *Les Impostures Innocentes*, published after his death, which consisted of a large number of plates in imitation of the various styles of the old engravers.

This French edition claims a place of honour as the first attempt to illustrate *Crusoe* with more than a frontispiece and maps. Vols. i. and iii. in the copy I have examined have each six plates, and vol. ii. seven, one of which, that of the death of Friday, I have not found in the re-issue of 1721. The subjects chosen for the illustrations to the first and second parts are very representative,—in vol. i. the shipwreck, the dream, and conversion of Crusoe, the escape of Friday (one of the most successful plates), the fight with the savages and rescue of the Spaniard, and Crusoe's quittance of the island after his twenty-eight years' residence. In vol. ii. the frontispiece shows us 'Robinson se disposant à un second voyage.' Then we have his return to the island, the marriages, Friday's death, the massacre at Madagascar (a phrase of ill-omen just now), the fight with the boiling pitch, and, lastly, a truly terrific

[1] As far as I have noted, Picart only signs the frontispiece, and this in the form 'B. Picart del. Sculpt. direxit, 1720.'

picture of the destruction of the idol, Cham Chi-Thaungu. As for the 'Serious Reflections,' the illustrator proves as hard put to it to find subjects as we should expect. The frontispiece shows us a 'vision du monde angélique,' in which Crusoe is floating in space with some casual angels dotted about him. The other five plates represent a meditative labourer tumbling into the water, a man complaining bitterly that his mother was an Indian, two marauders casting dice to see which should escape hanging, a woman delivered from fire by a presentiment, and a thunderbolt falling at the feet of an atheist—subjects which take us a long way from Crusoe and his man Friday! As a series, the plates to this edition cannot be highly praised. Picart's frontispiece (in which Crusoe is shown in his island costume, but without the anachronism of the ship) is good, and one or two of the plates in the first volume are not without grace, but others are very inferior, and can hardly be by the same hand.

Returning now to England, I find that in the fourth edition (1719) we have only the frontispiece and maps of the first, but by 1726, when Part I. was in its seventh, and Part II. in its fifth edition, additional plates had been provided, the first of which, representing the shipwreck off Yarmouth, is signed *Clarke, etc., etc.*, so that they were presumably the work of Clark and Pine, the engravers of the original frontispiece. The chief point about these plates is their designer's fondness for ships. With the exception of the escape of Friday (an inevitable subject), and two pictures of caravans in vol. ii., there is a ship in every illustration, and the treatment is as monotonous as the choice of subjects. Poor, however, as these plates are, either in their original form or in imitations, they seem to have

lasted for sixty years. I have found them in the ninth edition, 1747, and again, terribly worn, in the twelfth, 1761. In the fifteenth edition, published in 1778, they have been re-engraved by John Lodge. This edition is the last which I have found of those brought out by the joint-proprietors of the copyright, who, although they had realised handsome profits from the book, had done very little to promote its sale by variety of illustrations.

In 1781 the copyright difficulty seems to have been overcome, and in this year we have the first connection with the book of that perhaps too fecund and facile illustrator, Thomas Stothard, 'the quaker in art.' This edition was published by Harrison and Co., of 18 Paternoster Row, and the designs were engraved in very elaborate style by Heath,[1] Grignion, and Walker.

The framing of the plates, that delightful practice into which our early illustrators put so much of taste and rich imagination, is chaste and beautiful in design, and gives the pages a distinction which we look for in vain in latter-day productions. These seven designs may not be all that could be desired, but they are none of them scrappy, sketchy, or unfinished, and in one or two cases they are well worthy of the text, notably in that which represents the body of Thomas Jeffries, discovered by his comrades, hung up by the arm to a tree. Of Stothard in connection with Crusoe we shall have more to say anon, for, curiously enough, we find the same illustrator called upon to make a second set of designs for the same book, a fact which was apparently unknown to Lowndes, who only mentions the subsequent series.

[1] This must have been James Heath, father of Charles Heath, who, curiously enough, forty years later, re-engraved Stothard's other set of designs for the same book.

Passing over the 1785 edition, with plates after Brown by Pollard, we find, two years later, 1787, a very notable foreign issue in three volumes, 'traduit de l'anglois,' the first instalment of a series of *Voyages Imaginaires, Soniges, Visions, et Romans Cabalistiques*, published 'à Amsterdam et se trouve à Paris, Rue l'Hôtel Serpente, 1787.' In these volumes are included 'son retour dans son île, ses autres nouveaux voyages, et ses reflexions.'

In the 'Avertissement de l'Editeur' we find the following interesting statement, 'Quelques personnes ont attribué ce roman à Richard Steele, si connu par le Spectateur Anglais, au quel il a eu la plus grande part; mais il paroit constant qu'il appartient à Daniel De Foë, auteur beaucoup moins connu que ne l'est son ouvrage.' No doubt this report took its rise in the fact that an account of Alexander Selkirk's extraordinary voyage was given in the 26th number of *The Englishman* by Sir Richard Steele, who had seen and conversed with the sailor in London.

This promulgation of the book is the work of Themiseul de Saint Hyacinthe. The plates are beautifully designed by Clement Pierre Marillier, a clever artist, who, starting life as a painter, was seduced into the paths of book-illustrating by the prospect of better pay.

These plates are by far the most important of those with which we have yet had to deal. Indeed they are in some respects more worthy of their subject than any of those which were to appear subsequently. *Robinson Crusoes* illustrated for boys abound, but illustrations acceptable to the cultured and artistic are, as we shall see, few indeed.

For this reason these plates deserve description

in some detail, and the collector will be lucky who can pick up a stray copy on the Seine parapets. Let him not be afraid of paying a good price for it. The first plate is exquisitely engraved by L. S. Berthet and represents Crusoe just landed from the wreck. 'Grand Dieu,' he cries, 'comment est-il possible que je sois venu à terre?' The expression on the face and the pose of the figure are most admirable, the clothing hardly what one would expect upon an English common sailor. Indeed it speaks volumes for the dignity and distinction of the figure that these qualities should at once make themselves felt to the exclusion of any hypercriticism to which this remarkable garment certainly lays itself open.

The second plate represents the act of homage on Friday's part when 'Il prend un de mes pieds et le pose sur sa tête, pour me faire comprendre sans doute qu'il me juroit fidélité.'

The engraver is R. D'Elvaux, and excellent work his is. Indeed it may be said of this edition that it has been produced with that leisurely discrimination and lavishness of means which were characteristic of the early manufacturers of books. Here we have four plates, and no less than four artist-workmen, each vying with the other which should realise the best effect, with a really superb result.

The third plate has Delignon's best work put into it. 'Comment, Signor,' says Crusoe, 'vous ne me reconnoissez pas?' One cannot help thinking that this foreign artist, Marillier, has outdone any of his rivals in manifesting the right class of man with the right sort of face. There is a manly good-humoured look about Robinson in these drawings, that satisfies us that he is naturally one of

those self-reliant persons, to whom it would be possible to lead a solitary life for a quarter of a century and yet not go stark mad. Most of our English models look at least as if they would have been lunatics before the year was out.

The fourth and last of these delightful productions has received the very best treatment from the hands of the engraver Le Villain. It is a beautifully tender representation of the baptism of Mary, Will Atkins' wife.

'Marie,' says the priest, 'je te baptise au nom du Père, du Fils, et du S^e^ Esprit.'

The scene is so touching and refined, and at the same time so satisfactory and convincing, that it seems to 'snatch a grace beyond the rules of art.'

These four plates appear in the first two volumes, and it is a disappointment, in turning to the third to discover that 'les reflexions sérieux et importantes' are not considered adapted to pictorial presentation.[1]

The next issue with which we have to deal is important, not only for the beauty of its printing and, in general, the fine workmanship put into its production, which does credit to its publisher, John Stockdale, but because in it first appears the second series of Crusoe designs by Thomas Stothard.

The date of this is given by Lowndes as 1790. The British Museum copy, the only one I have seen, has 1804 on the title-page, the plates and advertisement bearing the earlier date.

It is in two volumes, royal 8vo, with seventeen plates, including a portrait of Defoe. The repro-

[1] Lowndes, I find, speaks of an edition translated into French by Van Effen and St. Hyacinthe, 6 vols. 12mo, with plates, Paris, 1768. Whether this is an earlier edition of that of which I have spoken above, I have not been able to discover.

duction of the designs was intrusted to the hands of the engraver, Medland, and he carried out the work admirably. We shall have something to say further on of the manner in which they were re-engraved for subsequent editions. There, too, some-thing shall be said of the artistic sentiment and performance, which of course is the same in all.

For the present it will be more convenient to pass on to some of the intermediate issues. In 1793 appeared a charmingly printed edition in three handy volumes, published by Cook, with six illustrations engraved by Hawkins and Grainger from the designs of Corbould and Allen. All that can be said of these embellishments is that they are by no means worthy of their subject, although the charming little frames in which they are set are worth more than a passing glance.

Next in chronological order we come to the 'Naval Chronicle' edition, published August 1, 1815, by J. Mawman, Ludgate Street, London, 8vo. This production is perhaps the most pedantic and im-pertinent ever produced. The editor's initials are I. S. S., and he was, at the time of which I write, 'the Hydrographer of the Naval Chronicle.'

Having kept a commonplace book through many years, he appears to have lighted upon *Robinson Crusoe* and resolved at once to make it bear the burden of his erudition.

Thus, Crusoe's dog dies of old age. The learned Hydrographer straightway proceeds in a page and a half of footnote to give a general and particular description of the canine race, incident-ally mentioning brant-geese and seals (these were very difficult to find a nail for), and winding up with authentic accounts of dog-eating on the coast of Patagonia. But he is not content with this

exhibition of his varied knowledge. He further refers the indulgent reader to an Appendix, where are found four and a half more pages of closely printed matter, beginning with an account of Dr. Kaye's treatise 'de Canibus' and ending with a dissertation upon the remedies for the bite of a rabid dog. And all this because, forsooth, poor Robinson's four-footed friend had died of old age.[1]

This dreadful edition comes within our subject by virtue of its woodcuts, for which the Hydrographer appears to have furnished the designs, and of which he does not fail to boast in his preface. Alike in design and execution these cuts would disgrace a seventeenth-century chap-book, so that, if they do scant justice to the text, it may at least be said of them that they are thoroughly in keeping with the editor's notes.

One turns with a sense of relief to the edition of 1818, one of those beautifully printed little volumes which were published by 'J. Walker and the other Proprietors,' with frontispieces and vignettes, engraved by Charles Warren after designs by Uwins. The Inspector of Pictures to the Queen, as he afterwards became, certainly did not read his text carefully, and represents Crusoe merely with fierce

[1] It is worth while recording what this gentleman himself has to say of his exertions:—

'Of the time and labour of research bestowed upon this present undertaking it becomes not the Editor to say much [*i.e.* only sixteen pages of preface]. That they have neither been inconsiderable, nor without anxiety, those will easily credit who are best qualified to appreciate the task.

'If they shall prove at all successful in rendering the admirable work on which they have been expended more extensively useful, in revealing more perfectly its intrinsic worth, its sources of knowledge and various delight, if especially they may be found instrumental in advancing the interests of the nautical tuition, facilitating the science of Hydrography to the juvenile scholar and scattering here and there a flower to enliven and embellish the more rugged parts of his paths; if such should be the happy fruit of those exertions which the editor now commends finally to the favour of his readers, the recompense of many waking, and some tedious hours will reach him in a way of all the others the most grateful to his mind.'

moustache, when he should properly have drawn him bearded as the pard, but the whole thing is done with such refinement and elegance that we do not find it hard to forgive his shortcomings.

We now come, two years later, to one of the most important editions published in this country, copies of which on large paper still command a high price. This is the 1820 edition, with the designs of Stothard Redivivus, of which I promised to speak again. It was published by T. Cadell and W. Davis, Strand, London, and W. Blackwood, Edinburgh. The twenty-two plates engraved by C. Heath are from the designs executed by Stothard for the 1790 edition, with some additions and numerous woodcuts. Each of the volumes has upon the title-page one of those trophies which have found so much favour in a dozen different forms with the illustrators of Crusoe. Here we have them elevated and refined into works of art.

The first is composed of an anchor, compass, rudder, net, sounding-line, coral, and a rope. The second, the more essentially characteristic one, of Crusoe's umbrella, fur cap, and coat, parrot, cage, saw, hammer, guns, sword, powder-bag, and spade. As I have said above, the Stothard designs were excellently engraved by Medland for the 1790 edition, and it is therefore with some astonishment that we read in the preface to this issue: 'The designs from which the embellishments of this edition are taken were executed many years ago, but the engravings from them which were then published were executed so inadequately to the present state of the Arts that it is no wonder the public showed little sense of their extraordinary merit. Now at length entire justice has been done to the genius of the celebrated painter who con-

ceived these admirable illustrations. So much the present publishers think they may venture to say without incurring the blame of any lover of the fine arts of his country.'

Both in its depreciation of the former issue, which seems to have been successful enough, and in its praise of the extraordinary merit of these designs, this advertisement seems to me very unfortunate. Elaborate and deliberate no doubt the designs are, but I believe that all who have the opportunity of comparing them with Stothard's earlier treatment of the book in 1781 will come to the conclusion that they rise little if anything above the perfunctory level of 'pot-boilers.'

I find in them no trace of enthusiasm or sympathetic fancy. The artist, too, has been guilty of what is inexcusable in an illustrator of books. Like Uwins, he has not troubled himself to read his text with care.

Take for example Plate 6, and compare this meek and mild personage with Crusoe's personal appearance at this time.

'My beard,' he writes, 'I had once suffered to grow till it was about a quarter of a yard long; but, as I had both scissars [*sic*] and razors sufficient, I had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper lip, which I had trimmed into a large pair of Mohametan whiskers, such as I had seen worn by some Turks whom I saw at Salee, for the Moors did not wear such, though the Turks did. Of these moustachios or whiskers, I will not say they were long enough to hang my hat upon them; but they were of length and shape monstrous enough, and such as in England would have passed for frightful.'

This want of a proper knowledge of the text is

observable throughout, and is as tiresome and exasperating as it is unpardonable. It is, of course, notoriously a failing among book-illustrators, but this makes it none the less reprehensible.

From Mrs. Bray's *Life of Thomas Stothard*, we find that the design for Crusoe making his long boat was exhibited at Somerset House in 1808, but it does not follow from this that the artist considered it one of his best performances. Indeed it was probably selected quite at haphazard, for it was his practice never to execute a picture for the purposes of the exhibition, but, when the time came for sending one in, to take anything that lay about his painting-room or that was hanging up in his drawing-room, for which he happened to have a frame that would fit.

A further quotation from Mrs. Bray's hardly discerning, although excusably enthusiastic book, will be interesting.

'Whoever has seen it,' she says, 'never can forget the design of Crusoe bringing the things he saved from the ship to the shore on his raft, and the lovely and inviting sylvan scene in the background. I used greatly to admire it, and Stothard said that whoever did so admired his dream, for, whilst engaged on the work for the publisher, he dreamt that he saw a scene more beautiful than anything he could fancy when awake. He had therefore endeavoured to throw his vision upon paper.'

In 1822, an edition of *Robinson Crusoe* was published by A. K. Newman and Co., Leadenhall Street, and Dean and Munday, Threadneedle Street, which contains, designed by Read and engraved by Parke, perhaps the most genuinely humorous frontispiece and vignette to be found in the whole range of Crusoe illustration.

'Friday's surprise and terror at the effects of Crusoe's gun in killing the kid' would I am sure have been shared by even those most thoroughly accustomed to the deadliness of contemporary fire-arms. To have killed at that distance with the kind of weapon at Robinson's disposal was a miracle which should have astonished our hero himself. The contrast, moreover, between the terror of the savage and the imperturbability of the bird, which sits within a yard or two on the bough of an adjacent tree, adds an unconscious touch of the ludicrous which is of great value.

In 1831 Baldwin and Craddock advertised an edition as illustrated, 'with forty-six characteristic wood-engravings finely executed from drawings by Harvey.' These very inadequate blocks were used over again in Bohn's edition of 1846, with twenty-four additional woodcuts by Whymper.

1831, however, brought forth good as well as bad, for George Cruikshank, who had touched the subject in 1820, in a small edition, with a frontispiece after him, engraved by his brother Robert, had received a commission to try his hand again at *Crusoe*, and the results were published this year by John Major, Fleet Street, in two volumes 8vo. They consist of thirty-seven woodcuts and two frontispieces, after his designs, by Fox and Raddon. Of some of these it is almost impossible to speak without apparent hyperbole. Take, for example, Crusoe surrounded by his family. I believe no one in the world ever executed, in the same space, a more satisfactory, convincing, and delightful little picture than this. It is a perfect gem in itself apart from its setting and, more than that, is as proper and as much in harmony with the text as one is able to conceive. But I have so often written enthusiasti-

cally about Cruikshank's work and so often shall be tempted to do so again, that, in a paper which is already longer than I had intended, I must subject myself to some restraint. Fortunately most people can come at these illustrations if they care to take the trouble, for they were not only republished by Major in 1836, but appeared in a smaller issue by David Bogue in 1853, with a few additional woodcuts. True, in this, the blocks show considerable signs of wear, but, even so, they are a possession not to be lightly prized. For some inexplicable reason the publisher has here used the original picture of Crusoe appalled at the footprint, as frontispiece, and inserted a second treatment of the same subject in the text, which appears to me evidently designed by some hand other than Cruikshank's. For I can hardly believe that the artist would have allowed a stumpy, clumsy little man of no build to speak of, to appear in a series in which throughout he has depicted his hero as gifted with a lithe, active figure.[1]

But we must not linger over these delightful volumes. Mention must, however, be made of one matter, before parting from Cruikshank-cum-Crusoe, which is germane to our subject. When George became rabid in his teetotalism, Dickens, amongst others, protested against temperance fanaticism, or indeed crotchets of any kind, being introduced

[1] This 1831 edition has a long introductory poem by Edward Fitzgerald's friend, Bernard Barton of Woodbridge. Its style may be gathered from the verse, which deals with the incident in question :

'But most of all I held my breath with awe
At a strange footmark on the shore imprest,
More fearful than if traced by lion's paw;
The panic at that sight let Cruikshank's pencil draw.'

What did the translator of Omar Khayyam say to such doggerel?

It is interesting to learn, from an unpublished note by Reid, that the two frontispieces were painted in oil, and considered by George to be his best productions in that medium.

into fairyland, or the using of the Ogres and Hop o' my thumbs of our infancy as the means of political or social propagandism. In his article in *Household Words*, entitled 'Frauds on the Fairies,' Dickens points out what would happen if such a course were to be followed. 'Imagine,' he says, 'a total abstinence edition of *Robinson Crusoe* with the rum left out. Imagine a peace edition, with the gunpowder left out and the rum left in. Imagine a vegetarian edition, with the goat's flesh left out. Imagine a Kentucky edition to introduce a flogging of that 'tarnal old nigger Friday twice a week. Imagine an Aborigines Protection Society edition to deny the cannibalism and make Robinson embrace the amiable savages whenever they landed. Robinson Crusoe would be "edited" out of his island in a hundred years, and the island would be swallowed up in the editorial ocean'—a misfortune which happily has not yet come to pass.

So much then for Crusoe and the 'inimitable George.'

In 1844, Messrs. George Routledge and Sons published a French edition, illustrated by Grandville, which they followed up in 1846 with an English edition illustrated by H. K. Browne, whose son we shall find illustrating *Crusoe* for Messrs. Blackie and Son forty years afterwards. There was a new edition containing 'Phiz's' eight illustrations, issued in 1861, but it is now quite out of print, and Messrs. Routledge and Sons published an important edition in 1864 to take its place, of which I shall speak hereafter.

The year following the first appearance of the 'Phiz' illustrations, 1847, was marked by an issue of considerable importance, not so much on account of any noticeable superiority in the designs exe-

cuted for it, as because here appeared the first signed work of the man who was destined to become the greatest exponent of the art of black and white drawing in England. The publisher was James Burns, and the struggling young artist, then twenty-four years of age, whom he employed, was Charles Samuel Keene. The woodblocks were the work of J. Cooper, and are described in the Preface to the Second Edition of my *Life and Letters of Charles Keene*, 1893.

1860 saw an issue by Mr. William Tegg with twenty-two pretentious but poor illustrations after H. Corbould, nor can much be said for the hundred illustrations by Edward H. Wehnert, published in 1862 by Messrs. Bell and Daldy.

The next edition of real importance is Messrs. Routledge and Sons' of 1864, with a hundred very beautiful illustrations by J. D. Watson, engraved on wood by the brothers Dalziel. Every one knows the great delicacy of this artist's work, notably in the *Pilgrim's Progress* of 1860, and no praise can be too high for the infinite pains and evident study which renders this one of the most important of the issues with which we have to deal. The chaste style of the artist easily adapts itself to the puritanic simplicity of the book, with curiously complete harmony. It is a remarkable example of the satisfactory wedding of pen and pencil. But I must not linger over it, and cannot afford much more than a glance at other editions which deserve a more respectful treatment.

In 1866 Messrs. Macmillan and Co. published *Crusoe*, in their world-renowned 'Golden Treasury Series,' with an engraving on the title-page after a drawing by Sir John Millais.

In 1869 Mr. Hotten published an edition with

nearly one hundred illustrations by Ernest Griset. They are the very things to attract a boy—dashing, vivid, and with plenty of go, vivacity, and imagination about them. These designs were also used with a verbatim reprint of the original in 'The Chandos Classics' by Messrs. Warne and Co., who have besides given us several other illustrated editions.

About 1874 Mr. Fisher Unwin published an edition with nineteen full-page coloured illustrations after Kauffmann, executed in chromo-lithography. The blocks had before been used by the Paris publisher Decaux for a French edition. They have also been given in black and white in later editions, and are essentially adapted to those who are in their 'salad days.'

In 1875 Messrs. Adam and Charles Black of Edinburgh brought out a *Crusoe* with four satisfactory full-page illustrations and a vignette, after designs by C. A. Doyle.

In 1882, what we may call an edition for grown-ups, of considerable importance, was published by Mr. J. C. Nimmo, in two volumes, crown octavo, with a charming etched portrait of Defoe by Flameng, and eight carefully etched plates by M. A. Monilleron.

1883 saw Mr. Elliot Stock's facsimile of the first edition, a very complete little book, rendered still more valuable by Mr. Austin Dobson's graceful and scholarly introduction. The appearance of this facsimile may fairly be taken as a halting-point, though the editions issued during the last twelve years have been neither few nor unimportant. Among the most noteworthy are Messrs. Blackie and Sons' edition of 1884, with a hundred illustrations by Mr. Gordon Browne, the brilliant son of

a world-famed father; Messrs. Cassell and Co.'s edition of 1891, with a hundred and twenty illustrations by Mr. Walter Paget, charmingly designed and well reproduced; Messrs. George Bell and Sons' edition of 1892, with twelve of Stothard's seventeen designs re-engraved by Mr. J. Stephenson; Messrs. Nelson and Sons' edition illustrated by Keeley Halswelle; and, lastly, Messrs. Dent and Co.'s edition of the present year, in three pretty volumes, with plates by Mr. J. B. Yeats, who alone of modern artists has ventured to illustrate the 'Serious Reflections.' No doubt the cry as to these illustrated editions will always be 'still they come,' and the task of the 'iconographer' (I believe that is the correct word) of *Crusoe* will be increasingly difficult. It need hardly be said that the present essay does not pretend to have exhausted the subject, even as regards the older illustrators with whom I have been chiefly concerned.

GEORGE SOMES LAYARD.

NOTICES OF PRINTERS AND PRINTING IN THE STATE PAPERS

BY the unwearying labour of those who for years past have been arranging the mass of documents familiarly known as the State Papers, many hitherto unknown records of the history of printing in this country have been brought to light. The indexes or calendars to this great collection are now almost continuous from the days of Henry the Eighth to the year 1668. Hitherto every history of printing has been fragmentary and imperfect, for want of ready access to these documents. The lives given by Ames of our early printers were as good as he had the means of making them. His successors, Herbert and Dibdin, might have made them better, but, as a matter of fact, with a very few exceptions, they repeated them word for word. With these State Papers laid open to our hands, a new History of printing could be written, a history that would be ten times more correct and proportionately valuable than anything that has yet preceded it.

It will not be possible, in an article in this magazine, to call attention to each individual document relating to printing in these State Papers. In fact there would be no advantage in doing so, as numbers of them have no sequence, and others are simply payments. What has been aimed at in the following pages, is to give the reader a glimpse of those papers that best illustrate in outline the history of printing during this period, leaving

those who care to do so to fill in the details by reference to the others.

The first and earliest series is that known as *The Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry Eighth*, the first volume of which was published in the year 1862. This series is not yet complete, having only reached the year 1537. At the very outset we meet with documents relating to one of the three first printers established in this country, Richard Pynson. Pynson was at this time the royal printer. It is an immaterial point whether he obtained his patent from Henry VII. or his successor, or whether, as some think, he never had a patent at all. Here we have a warrant, dated 3rd May 1510, under the king's hand, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was then the Chancellor, 'to deliver to Richard Pynson, a true copy of the Statutes lately passed in Parliament, that he may print them.' (*L. and P. Hen. Eighth*, vol. 1, art. 1030.)

But there are two other documents relating to this printer of much greater interest to book-lovers than this. The first is an Indenture, dated the 28th June, 11 Henry VIII. (*i.e.* 1519) between William Horman, clerk and fellow of the King's College of our Blessed Lady of Eton, Bucks, and Mr. Ric. Pynson, book-printer, Fleet Street, London, for printing 800 copies 'of such vulgars' as be contained in the copy delivered to him, 'in sufficient and suyng stuff of paper after three diverse letters, one for the English, another for the Latin, and the third of great Romayne letter for the titles of the book and thirty-five chapters of the same, to represent goodly and truly the matter,' 'so that one half of the whole sum be single quire and the other double.' Pynson was not to print more than 800 copies in five years without Horman's consent. The

privilege to be printed in each book, and Horman to pay the sum of five shillings a ream at certain times. (*L. and P. Hen. Eighth*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 118.)

This agreement Pynson carried out to the letter, at least as regarded the appearance of the book. The following description is from the copy now in the possession of the British Museum.

'Vulgaria uiri doctiſſimi | Guil. Hormani, Cæſa- | riſ burgenſis. |
Apud inclytam Londi- | ni urbem MDXIX. | Cum Priuilegio | Sereniſſimi regis Henri- | ci eius nominis | octavi. | .'

The above title occupies the whole page, and is surrounded by a heavy and inartistic border. The colophon is on EE 3:—

'Impressa Londini per | Richardum Pynson | regium impreſſorem cum priuilegiȯ a Rege indulto. Ne quis hæc im | primat: nec aliubi impreſſa importataq3 intra regnum Angliæ vendat.'

On the verso of the last page is the large full-page device of the printer. The work is in quarto, the 'three diverse letters' were three founts of Roman type, and it was printed throughout with the care for which Pynson was noteworthy.

The second of these two indentures was made four years later (1523) between John Palsgrave, prebendary of St. Paul's, and Richard Pynson, stationer, for the printing of sixty reams of paper at 6s. 8d. per ream. This, it will be seen, was a better price than that obtained from Horman. The title of the book to be printed was *Ley le Clarrissimaunt* (*l'Eclaircissement*) *de la lange Fraunçois*, containing three books, with certain tables and a French vocabulary. Seven hundred and fifty copies were to be printed, six of which the printer was to hand over to Palsgrave for presentation to

the king and other of his friends, and Pynson to have as many as, at a price agreed upon, should pay him for the whole impression at the above rate. A special clause was inserted that Palsgrave should deliver the copy from time to time duly corrected, and Pynson undertook to print one sheet daily. (*L. and P. Hen. Eighth*, vol. 3, pt. 2, art. 3680; vol. 4, pt. 1, art. 39.) This work Pynson did not live to finish. In copies that have come down to us, and they are very rare and precious, the first two books are found with Pynson's device at the end, but the third has the device and colophon of John Hawkins. And this furnishes a striking illustration of the value of these State Papers. Herbert, in describing this work under the head of John Hawkins (vol. 1, p. 470), only guessed that the first two parts were printed by Pynson, and Dibdin (vol. 3, p. 63) says 'there is no very strong foundation for either conclusion,' that is Ames' notion that Hawkins used Pynson's type or Herbert's query.

It seems somewhat ridiculous to classify and describe this book under Hawkins. He was probably one of Pynson's executors. In fact, he may have been only his foreman. No other book has ever been discovered, or is ever likely to be discovered, printed by him, and seeing that this is printed throughout in Pynson's type, has his device, and is one of the best specimens of his workmanship, it should surely be ascribed to him, and not to a man whom the accident of death enabled to put his colophon on the last leaf.

Pynson was succeeded in his office by Thomas Berthelet, or, as he wrote it in his will, Barthelett. There are many references to this printer in these papers, and many more will be included in forth-

coming volumes. They relate chiefly to the printing of State Proclamations and Acts of Parliament, to accounts for printing and payments.

But there are also notices of books and pamphlets from his press. Those quickly succeeding events, the divorce of Queen Katherine, the publication of the Lutheran tracts, the fall of Wolsey, the denial of the Pope's supremacy, and the subsequent dissolution of the monasteries, kept Barthelett well supplied with work, and, judging from the property he left in his will, the office of a King's Printer must have been a very profitable one.

Amongst the papers in the Record Office that have not yet been reached in this series, is a deed enrolled in the Patent Rolls of the 36th Henry VIII. This is a grant by the king, to Barthelett, of a large quantity of property, in and around London, some of which had previously belonged to the monastery of Godstow in Oxfordshire, in settlement of a debt of two hundred and twenty pounds, and the whole of this property was in his possession at the time of his death.

Barthelett in his turn gave place to Richard Grafton. But the compilers of these calendars have not yet reached him, and consequently he does not come under our notice here.

Of Wynkyn de Worde we get only one glimpse, a notice that he was the printer in 1533 of an account of the coronation of Queen Anne, published and sold by John Gough, the bookseller of Cheapside (*L. and P. Hen. Eighth*, vol. 6, p. 278). Considering the immense amount of work done by De Worde, scarcely equalled perhaps by Barthelett himself, it seems strange that only this faint shadow of him should fall across these papers. On the other hand, we find in them much earlier notice of John

Gough, than any hitherto recorded. In the year 1526, there was considerable stir at the Parliament owing to the continued importation into this country of the writings of Luther, Hus, Zwinglius, and other noted leaders of the Reformation. These and the New Testament of Tyndall were proclaimed as 'heretical books,' and the mandate of the Archbishop of Canterbury was issued for a rigorous search for any books of this description, and any information respecting those who bought, sold, or trafficked in them. This is the keynote of the policy adopted by the English people and the English Government towards the art of printing for the next two centuries, a policy that resulted in debasing it to a position below that of any other country in Europe. The books now under notice were English translations printed abroad, and on March 3rd, 1528, the Bishop of Lincoln (John Langland) sent Wolsey a letter (*L. and P. Hen. Eighth*, vol. 4, pt. 2, art. 4004), of which the following is an abstract:—

'. . . has had fresh information about the corruption of youth '(at Oxford) by Mr. Garrett, and the erroneous books he brought 'thither, which it is thought came from a bookseller in London 'named Goughe, and there is a priced list in his hands, . . . and it 'appears by Garrett's writing that Dr. Farman of Honey Lane has 'had books from him, and his servant, John Goodale, has often 'brought books from London to Garrett.'

This letter possesses a good deal of interest for students of early English typography. The Mr. Garrett referred to is Friar Garrarde of the order of Observants, author of a book entitled the *Interpretation and Signification of the Mass*, printed by the Charing Cross printer, Robert Wyer, in 1532. Most probably, too, the John Goodale mentioned in it was the same person as the author of the

Civile Nosgay and the *Lybertyes of the Clergy*, which also passed through the press of Robert Wyer.

The next communication on this subject is found a few pages further on (*L. and P. Hen. Eighth*, vol. 4, pt. 2, art. 4073), and furnishes a little bit more of John Gough's history. This time the writer was Tunstal, bishop of London, and his letter to Wolsey is dated just twelve days after the information had been lodged. It is abstracted as follows:—

'Attached Dr. Farman, parson of Honey Lane, John Goodale, 'his servant, and John Gogh, booksellers, of Fleet street. Has 'kept them separate and examined them. Sends writings in 'the hands of Goodale and Goghe. The latter says he does 'not know Gararde, and never dealt in forbidden books with him, 'or any one else in Oxford, since the monitions. *He has only had 'a shop of his own for two years*, and before that, was servant to 'another.'

'Tunstal thinks that Goghe is innocent.'

So the matter appears to have ended as far as John Gough was concerned, but this letter establishes what was unrecorded before, that he began business as a bookseller in 1526, at least seven years before we hear of him as a printer.

In pursuance of our plan of selecting typical extracts, we may now take up the second, or Elizabethan series, covering the period from 1554 to 1640. These were begun in the year 1856 under the editorship of Robert Lemon, F.S.A., and open with those of the reign of Edward VI.

In these again we have a large number of documents relative to printing, and, seeing that this was the most glorious period in English literature, they are all of the highest interest and value. But the most important of them have already been printed *in extenso* by Professor Arber in his *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, and it is therefore un-

necessary to do more than briefly recapitulate their titles and their general bearing on the History of Printing.

The first and most important is the Charter of Incorporation of the Worshipful Company of Stationers in the third and fourth Philip and Mary from the Patent Rolls for that year, 1556. (See Arber's *Trans.*, vol. 1, pp. xxviii-xxxii.)

In the same volume we find no less than four accounts rendered by the Queen's Printers for the years 1558-59, 1560, and 1561. These were mainly for printing Proclamations, and they form a highly valuable record of a literature that has almost entirely perished. Here are printed Queen Mary's proclamation against Protestant books and Elizabeth's against those of the Papists. The punishments held up before the eyes of offenders were not clearly set forth, but that the law had the power of severely treating the unfortunate authors, printers, and booksellers almost every page in these calendars testifies.

Of the patents granted by Elizabeth to various members of the Company, there is a long and interesting account in the Introduction to the second volume of the *Transcript*, in which the names of the patentees, the dates of the grants, and the reference to them in the Patent Rolls are set out at length.

Briefly put this is the list :—

1559. R. Tottell. Law Books. *P. R.* 1 *Eliz.* Part 4.
„ Rich Jugge and John Cawood to be Queen's Printers. *P. R.* 1 *Eliz.* Part 7.
„ W. Seres. Primers. *P. R. Eliz.* part 4.
Thos. Day. The Cosmographical Glasse and any other book. *P. R.* 1 *Eliz.* p. 1.
1561. J. Bodleigh. Genevan Bible. *P. R.* 3 *Eliz.* pt. 13.
1571. W. Seres. Primers. *P. R.* 13 *Eliz.* Pt. 7.
1572. Thos. Marsh. School Books. *P. R.* 14 *Eliz.* Pt. 1.

1573. T. Vautrollier. Plutarch Lives. *P. R.* 15 *Eliz.* Pt. 9.
F. Flower. Queen's Printer in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. *P. R.* 16 *Eliz.* Pt. 9.
1574. T. Vautrollier. Certain Latin Works. *P. R.* 16 *Eliz.* Pt. 7.
1575. Thos. Tallis and William Bird. Songs. 17 *Eliz.* Pt. 7.
1577. C. Barker. Queen's Printer in succession to R. Jugge. *P. R.* 19 *Eliz.* Pt. 8.
1580. Henry Binneman. Dictionaries. *P. R.* 22 *Eliz.* Pt. 4.
1588. Ralph Bowes. Playing Cards. *P. R.* 30 *Eliz.* Pt. 12.
Watkins and Robertes. Almanacks and Prognostications. *P. R.* 31 *Eliz.* P. 10.
1589. T. Bright. All works on Shorthand. *P. R.* 31 *Eliz.* P. 9.
1591. Richard Wright of Oxford. Tacitus in English. *P. R.* 33 *Eliz.* P. 17.
1592. John Norden. Speculum Britanniæ. *P.R.* 34 *Eliz.* pt. 4.

As most of these were granted for life with the power of reversion, and the remainder were for periods of from seven to thirty years, it is no wonder that John Wolf and the poorer of the craft cried out against this monstrous injustice, no wonder that when he was asked why he persisted in printing other men's copies, Wolf replied fiercely, 'Because I will live.' (*Dom. S. P. Eliz.*, vol. 15, arts. 38, 39, 40.) Unfortunately that was the Alpha and Omega of John Wolf's resistance. The Company bought him out. He died in eminent respectability as printer to the City of London, and he left others to fight the battle. How stubbornly it was fought the cases of John Day *v.* Ward and Holmes, R. Day *v.* T. Dunn and R. Robinson, F. Flower *v.* Robert Bourne, all given at length in the second volume of the *Transcript*, from documents in the Record Office (pp. 753-769, 794-800, etc.), sufficiently testify.

In 1566 the first Star Chamber Decree for the regulation of printing was published. (Arber's *Trans.*, vol. 1, p. 322.) It was short, and set forth

that all printers, stationers, and booksellers should enter into recognisances in certain sums to carry out its provisions. It gave the Company the right of search, and imposed a penalty of three months' imprisonment, with loss of all privileges as a printer, on those who printed any books contrary to order.

But this was mild in comparison to the decree made twenty years later (*State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, vols. 190 and 192). This recites that previous ordinances having failed to stop the enormities and abuses of printing, whereby 'intollerable troubles' had overtaken both Church and State, and that this failure was probably due to the fact that previous penalties had been too light, it had been found necessary to frame a new constitution for the government of printing. For the future no printer was to set up a press without notice to the Company, and no printing of any kind was to be done elsewhere than in London and the two Universities, and all presses were to be where the officers of the Company could have access to them. No press set up within the previous six months was to be used, and no new printer was to be elected till death or resignation had caused a vacancy. No book was to be printed without the Imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The number of apprentices employed by each printer was strictly limited, and the penalties inflicted were the defacement of the printer's stock, inability to carry on the trade of a printer, and various terms of imprisonment.

Other documents tell us what presses there were at various times, the names of the master printers, and the books that from time to time fell under the censure of the licensing authorities.

(See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, for 1593-1600.)

With such fetters hampering the freedom of the men by whose means whatever was noblest and best in the nation's language was given to the world, it is not surprising to find that the work of Spenser and Shakespeare and their contemporaries was put forth in a totally unworthy form. Take as a whole the books printed between 1560 and 1600, and they tell the same tale. No attempt whatever was made at artistic workmanship. The type is wretchedly cut, printers' errors abound, and carelessness in both setting and printing is only too evident.

But worse was yet to follow. The last important document given by Professor Arber from these State Papers is the Star Chamber Decree of 1637. By that enactment, in addition to the previous regulations concerning licensing of books, entering of copies, finding of sureties, the right of search, and so forth, only twenty printers were allowed to carry on business at one time in London, no printer was to have more than two presses, unless he was a Master or Warden of the Company, when he might have three, and only four letter-founders were allowed to the trade. The penalties for setting up unlawful presses were the pillory and a whipping through the city.

With the close of the *Transcript* we plunge once more into the thick of the State Papers without any other guide or compass than what is furnished by the calendars. And good as these are, if we were to take the word printing or printers as the pole-star of our researches, we should get little for our pains. During the whole period of the Commonwealth, and the Restoration which we are now entering, the words rarely occur in the indexes to

these volumes. But all the same there are many and valuable papers bearing upon both subjects, which have been indexed under 'books,' or under the name of the printer. In speaking of this period, in the original prospectus to *The Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, Professor Arber stated that 'the assembling of the Long Parliament took the gag off the press,' because in the next twenty years the literature that came from it equalled all that had been published in the previous one hundred and sixty. Yet, within three years of its assembling, we have John Milton protesting in words that will endure for all ages against the action of that very Parliament in framing ordinances against the printers, and warning the members that they are doing the very thing that they had laid to the charge of the hated prelacy. There is, indeed, no evidence that the gag was ever taken off by the Long Parliament. That the press was more active at this time was due to no favour on the part of the Government, but rather because the Parliament had so much to do at the outbreak of the Civil War, in looking after its army and in negotiations with the king, that it had no time to concern itself with the printers. But gradually it woke up to the fact that a new form of literature had sprung into existence, was making rapid headway, and threatened to be a powerful and dangerous enemy. In the same year that Milton raised his voice in favour of Free Printing, it was declared by a writer on behalf of the Stationers' Company that 'the printing of pamphlets is now the utmost ambition of Stationers in England.'

It had come to this, then, that the press was to be used for the diffusion of news. Public events were uppermost in men's minds, and so anxiously

were they followed that the ordinary manuscript letter between friend and friend was not enough to satisfy them. Hence the publication of these printed sheets, Mercuries, Diurnals, Weekly Accounts, Heads of Chief Passages in Parliament, and a score of others, all recording the progress of events from week to week, and each taking the view of its own party. In vain Milton warned his friends: 'These things will be and must be; but how they shall be least hurtful, how least enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of the State.' The 'governing wisdom' could bear to hear no voice but its own, and, finding itself assailed on all sides by vigorous writers, saw no other way of protecting itself than that which its predecessors had used, namely, to 'gag the press.'

Accordingly, when, in 1649 there came a lull in the storm, the Government set about enforcing the laws against unlicensed printing with more severity than it had previously done. It classified all that was written against it under the comprehensive head of 'scandalous and seditious books,' and further provided itself with a staff of well-paid writers to answer the more skilful and damaging writings of its opponents (*Dom. S. P.* 1649, p. 139). It empowered the Stationers' Company to make rigorous searches, weekly or oftener, for secret presses and questionable books, to break open doors, locks, or chests, and to certify to the Council the names of all those who obstructed them. On the merest suspicion the unfortunate printers and publishers were thrown into prison.

But out of evil good may come, and to this renewed attack upon the printing trade we are indebted for a record of the names and addresses of the printers, which would otherwise be almost un-

obtainable. For a notable change, arising solely from the bitter persecution that had followed all free expression of thought since the days of Henry VIII., had taken place in at least one custom of the trade. There had been a time when no book, pamphlet, or broadside was issued without the name and address of the printer being in it, but for a long time past half the printed literature had borne no printer's name at all, and of the remainder, which recorded either the initials or the full names, the address was almost always omitted.

But amongst the State Papers for 1649-50 (*Dom. S. P.* 1649-50, pp. 522, 523) we find a list of Recognisances to the Council of State. Amongst others, certain printers were bound over in two sureties of £300, and their own bond for a similar amount, not to print any seditious or unlicensed books, pamphlets, or pictures, or allow their presses to be used for such purposes. In each case the name and the address is given. Another document of the same year (*Dom. S. P.* 1649, p. 553) was a Warrant to certain persons to aid and assist the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers in executing the Act against unlicensed books.

From these and several minor papers a list of printers in London and other places in the year 1649 has been compiled, and has been added as an Appendix to this paper. It will be found a useful supplement to the lists given by Professor Arber in his *Transcript*, and, though perhaps far from exhaustive, gives the best idea possible of the state of the trade in the time of the Commonwealth.

What strikes one first in looking down this list is its length. Previous to the Star Chamber Decree of 1637, the number of printers in London at any one time is said never to have exceeded twenty-

three (Arber's *Transcript*, vol. 3, p. 18). Without taking this as in any way proved, it is clear that the attempt made to limit the number to twenty had been unsuccessful, for here we have a list of no less than sixty, and that in spite of the iron hand of the law.

Another noticeable thing is that they were scattered broadcast over the city. There was no longer a grouping of the trade in such spots as Fleet Street or St. Paul's Churchyard.

Of the twenty who were allowed by the Decree of 1637, we find the names of three who had survived the turmoils of war and stagnation of trade. These were Bernard Alsop, Richard Bishop, and Thomas Harper. The places of three of the others had been filled up by their successors, Elizabeth Purslowe taking that of her husband Thomas; Gertrude Dawson that of her husband John; and James Flesher or Fletcher that of his father Miles Fletcher. Henry Hills and John Field were the Puritan printers, the last named succeeding Edward Husbands as printer to the Parliament. Joseph Hunscott was clerk to the Stationers' Company. James and Joseph Moxon and John Grismond were letter-founders as well as printers, while Thomas Newcome, Mathew Simmons, and Thomas Roycroft remained prosperous and active printers long after the Restoration. Thomas Newcome had suffered heavily for printing Lilburne's tract, the *Outcry of the Apprentices*, but at the Restoration was made King's Printer, and was the proprietor and printer of some of the chief journals published in that reign. He was the friend of Sir Joseph Williamson, who in 1673-4 acted as plenipotentiary at the Congress of Cologne, and some of the letters that passed between them on that occasion have been

printed amongst the *Transactions* of the Camden Society (see vols. viii. and ix., New Series).

Mathew Simmons was the printer of many of the most noted books of the time, and Thomas Roycroft will always be remembered as the printer of Bishop Walton's *Polyglott Bible*.

The late T. B. Reed, in his book on *Old English Letter Foundries* (chap. vii. pp. 164 *et seq.*), has described this book and the types used for it at considerable length. If one book could have saved the printers of that age from the unfavourable judgment that posterity has passed upon their work, it would be this one. It marks the high-water point of typographical excellence of the Commonwealth period. A great and laborious undertaking, it was well conceived and carried out with a skill and promptitude that subsequently earned for the printer the title of 'Orientalium Typographus Regius'—the entire work took six large folio volumes, and the printing of this immense undertaking was completed within four years, the last volume appearing in 1657. The title-page was engraved by Hollar, and is a fine example of his work; and the Dedication was printed in the Roman and Italic founts that had been used by Day in the previous century in printing the *Ælfric*.

Another printer on this list whose name frequently occurs in these State Papers between the years 1649 and 1653, and whose work deserves mention as being much superior to that of most of his contemporaries, was William Dugard or Du Gard. In 1644 he had been chosen headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School. He started there a private press, and in the year 1649 printed Salmasius's *Defensio Regia pro Carolo primo*. The

Council of State immediately ordered his arrest, and he was thrown into Newgate, and his press delivered over to Joseph Hunscott of the Stationers' Company. Further, the Council of State wrote to the Company of Merchant Taylors ordering them to elect a new schoolmaster, 'Mr. Dugard having shown himself an enemy to the State by printing seditious and scandalous pamphlets, and therefore unfit to have charge of the education of youths' (*Dom. S. P. Interregnum*, 63, pp. 578-583). Milton, however, interceded for him, and after a month's imprisonment he was released and his presses restored to him, but was bound over in a sum of £500 and two sureties of £200 each. Although dismissed from his post for a time, he appears to have been re-elected.

The writer of the article 'William Dugard,' in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, states that, in 1651 and 1652, some of his books were publicly burnt by order of the House of Commons. There does not appear to be any document amongst these State Papers tending to confirm this statement, though such action may have followed upon the condemnation of the *Catechesis Ecclesiarum Poloniæ* which he printed in 1652. On the other hand, through Milton's good offices and his own merit as a printer, he seems to have found favour with the Council and received a good deal of work from them. He certainly printed, with their authority, Milton's answer to the *Defensio Regia* and a book called *Mare Clausum*. His initials W.D. are also found on the title-page of several books issued by various publishers.

Of the remainder of those whose names appear in this list of printers, some are not met with again, but of others we get momentary glimpses. As with

pictures thrown upon a screen, we have barely time to note their presence when they disappear. Yet every such record, no matter how brief, is of importance. For instance, some figure as printers of the various news-sheets. Copies of these publications of a date previous to the Restoration are not numerous. The Thomason collection is the chief one, and in very rare instances do we find any indication in them as to the printer. But the omissions can generally be filled by reference to the State archives. In one place, for instance, we have a note of proceedings to be taken against John Clowes and Robert Ibbitson, printers of the *Perfect Occurrences*; but whether the matter was carried any further we never learn (*Dom. S. Papers*, 1650, Feb.). From another we glean the information that Francis Heldersham and Martha Harrison, in 1649, printed the *Mercurius Pragmaticus* of Marchmont Needham. *Mercurius Elencticus*, another noted sheet, came from the press of William Wright, and the *Heads of Chief Passages in Parliament* from that of Bernard Alsop. Sometimes after a long interval we get a further item of information about some printer who has previously been mentioned, as in the case of Peter Cole who in 1649 was arrested on a warrant for printing a pamphlet called *King Charles's Trial* (*Dom. S. P.*, 1649). Writing to Sir Joseph Williamson, in 1665, James Hickes, clerk to the Post Office, informs him that Peter Cole, the printer and bookseller, has been found hanged (*Dom. S. Papers*, Chas. II. vol. 138, No. 37).

It may be worth while to recall some of the current literature of that time, the bulk of which has been preserved to us by the care and foresight of Thomason the bookseller. It was almost

always in quarto form, and was printed in the utmost haste. Sometimes the title-pages were decorated with a poor attempt at wood engraving, but, as a rule, they had none, and were sufficiently barbarous specimens of the printer's art without them. Amongst the tracts which in 1649 gave the greatest offence to the Parliament were two, *The Agreement of the People* and *The Moderate*, which caused the licenser, Mr. Mabbot, to be dismissed from his office. *Old and New Chains*, Second Part of *England's New Chains Discovered*, *The Fiery Flying Roll*, the *Outcry of the Apprentices*, *An Impeachment against Lieutenant-General Cromwell*, were the titles of others published in the same year,[1] and fairly represent the character of the literature with which England was flooded at that time. For many of the above-named pamphlets the notorious John Lilburne, 'the Agitator,' was responsible. At one moment he was attacking the Parliament and upholding Cromwell, at the next he was assailing Cromwell with the same virulence that he had used to the Parliament. Nothing could keep him from the pen. Prison doors made no difference to him, except, perhaps, to make his language more venomous, and when one cause of quarrel was removed from him he fastened upon another.

The same state of things continued after the Restoration of the Monarchy. Roger L'Estrange succeeded John Mabbot in the ignoble office of licenser of books; Andrew Marvell succeeded John Lilburne as chief pamphleteer and satirist; and in spite of the prison, the pillory, the destruction of presses and heavy fines, in all which forms of persecution the Worshipful Company of

[1] *Dom. State Papers*, 1649-50, Introduction.

Stationers were found ready to lend a hand, the news-sheets continued to increase in numbers year after year. Then, just as the country was recovering from its troubles, trade was reviving, and literature was beginning to rise from the dead level of mediocrity to which it had fallen, there came the outbreak of the great fire of London.

How many of the printers named in the list of 1649 survived that calamity? Strange as it may seem, these State Papers do not help us to answer the question. There appear to be only three documents relative to the effects of the fire upon the printing trade of London, all much to the same effect.

The first is dated February 1667, and is a petition from Christopher Barker, King's Printer, to His Majesty, for permission to import 1000 bales of paper for carrying on His Majesty's business, having lost large quantities by the late fire, and the present scarcity rendering paper so dear (*Dom. S. Papers*, Chas. II., vol. 191, art. 98).

The next is a licence for the ship *St. John* of Morlaix to import paper from France, the Stationers' Company of London and the printers of Cambridge petitioning for the same, to enable them to set their presses to work, after their losses by the late fire, with a similar licence to another ship (*Dom. S. Papers*, Chas. II., vol. 192). The third is another petition, addressed to the king this time by the printer, bookseller, and publisher, John Ogilby, for licence to import 'ten thousand reams of paper from France, duty free, in such vessels as he can procure. Has spent twenty years in setting forth several books with sculpts in a more noble and heroic way than hath heretofore been done in England; but lost £3000 of reserved stock in the

fire, and needs assistance to begin again the work then almost perfected.'

Perhaps no more eloquent testimony to the magnitude of the losses occasioned by the fire is wanted than the above petition of John Ogilby. He was one of the chief book producers of his time. His editions of Homer and Æsop were printed for him by Thomas Roycroft, who, we have already seen, could turn out excellent work, and there is not the least doubt that his business was one of the largest in London.

It is indeed appalling to think of the valuable manuscripts alone, to say nothing of the type and presses, that must have been destroyed in that fire. The story goes that most of the printers removed their stock to the cellars under St. Paul's Cathedral, but that opening the doors too soon, the draught caused the heated chamber to take fire, and the whole was destroyed. Many of the smaller men must have been utterly ruined.

Such are a few of the facts that may be learnt about printers and printing by a search amongst our national archives. By their aid alone can the history of certain books, the biography of individual printers, and the annals of the printing trade, be satisfactorily written.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

APPENDIX

LIST of printers in London and other parts of England in the year 1649:—

NAME OF PRINTER	ADDRESS
Alsop, Bernard,	Grub Street.
Austin, Robert,	Addlehill.
Bell, Jane,	Christchurch.
Bentley, William,	Finsbury.
Bishop, Richard,	St. Peter Paul's Wharf.
Broad, Thomas,	City of York.
Brudenell, Thomas,	Newgate Market.
Buck, John,	Cambridge.
Buck, or Bucks, Thomas,	Cambridge.
Clowes, John,	Grub Street.
Coe, Andrew,	...
Cole, Peter,	...
Coles, Amos,	Ivy Lane.
Constable, Richard,	Smithfield.
Cotes, or Coates, Richard,	Aldersgate Street.
Cottrell, James,	...
Crouch, Edward,	...
Crouch, John,	...
Dawson, Gertrude,	Aldersgate Street.
Dugard, William,	Merchant Taylors' School.
Ellis, William,	Thames Street.
Field, John,	...
Fletcher, or Flesher, James,	Little Britain.
Griffith, or Griffin, Edward,	Old Bailey.
Grismond, John,	Ivy Lane.
Hall, Henry,	Oxford.
Hare, Adam,	Red Cross Street.
Harper, Thomas,	Little Britain.
Harrison, Martha,	...
Heldersham, Francis,	...
Hills, Henry,	Southwark.
Hunscott, Joseph,	Stationers' Hall.
Hunt, William,	Pie Corner.
Husbands, Edward,	Golden Dragon, Fleet St.
Ibbitson, Robert,	Smithfield.
Lee, William,	Fleet Street.
Leyborne, Robert,	Mugwell Street.
Litchfield, Leonard,	Oxford.

NOTICES OF PRINTERS IN THE STATE PAPERS

NAME OF PRINTER	ADDRESS
Mabb, Thomas,	Ivy Lane.
Maxey, Thomas,	Bennett Paul's Wharf.
Maycock, John,	Addlehill.
Meredith, Christopher,	St. Paul's Churchyard.
Miller, Abraham,	Blackfriars.
Mottershead, Edward,	Doctors Commons.
Moxon, James,	Houndsditch.
Neale, Francis,	Aldersgate Street.
Newcombe, Thomas,	Bennett Paul's Wharf, near Baynards Castle.
Norton, Roger,	Blackfriars.
Partridge, John,	Blackfriars.
Payne, or Paine, Thomas,	...
Playford, John,	...
Purslowe, Elizabeth,	Little Old Bailey.
Ratcliffe, Thomas,	Doctors Commons.
Raworth, Ruth,	...
Ross, Thomas,	...
Rothwell, John,	St. Paul's Churchyard.
Royston, John, / Royston, Richard,	Ivy Lane.
Roycroft, Thomas,	...
Simmons, Mathew,	Aldersgate Street, next the Gilded Lyon.
Thompson, George,	...
Tyton, Francis,	...
Walkeley, Thomas,	...
Warren, Thomas,	Foster Lane.
Wilson, William,	Little St. Bartholomew.
Wright, John,	Old Bailey.
Wright, William,	...

H. R. P.

FLORENTINE BOOK-ILLUSTRATIONS

PART II

HOWEVER highly we may appreciate the best of our Florentine woodcuts as masterly examples of book-illustration, as charming little pictures full of sentiment and sometimes showing originality of conception and skilfulness in execution, we must yet own that they do not bear evidence of being the productions of artists of individuality in the full sense of the word. They show a masterly adaptation to their own ends of the artistic knowledge of the time, but they cannot be said to have contributed to the progress of art. The name of any particular artist, therefore, is of no importance to us, because we do not distinguish artistic individuality. We have indeed to beware of attributing even the very best productions of this school to those great artists whose style they may resemble. There are, for instance, many cuts which are quite in the manner of Botticelli and in many respects would not be unworthy of that master, but we possess no proofs that he lent his drawings for the purposes of reproduction, as has been so often stated. We may, it is true, easily recognise his style in many of the woodcuts, but they do not show his individuality as we have it in his drawings. The Florentine woodcutters did not limit their work to the exact reproduction of a drawing line by line, still less to the mere cutting out of the lines of a drawing made upon the woodblock itself, but worked with great

freedom from the original sketch. It would be difficult, therefore, if not impossible, to declare even of the best engraving if it was a drawing of Botticelli which lay underneath, or only one by some other artist following his style. Attributions of engravings to certain artists have for the most part been made by those who have examined only single examplés out of the great number of engravings of the same type. A wider examination of the mass of cuts would have convinced them of the impossibility of distinguishing the works of a master from those of his school, or of detecting in them his own peculiar style. The personality of a really great artist must stand out, I think, with such distinctness that a doubt of the originality of a work amounts to a confession either that we do not quite recognise his artistic individuality, or that the work is not from his hand.

There were in Florence at this particular time so many good artists, some of them, perhaps, not even known to us by name, that we do no wrong to a work of art by thus refusing to attribute it to the greatest amongst them. How many artists were there who followed Francia or Perugino? How many imitated Botticelli? And of these some, at any rate, were not far from reaching the perfection of their master.

In the failure, therefore, of any trustworthy evidence of authorship we have to content ourselves with grouping our cuts according to characteristic differences in the style of drawing and execution, and with showing the relations of these groups amongst themselves, and their connection with the various styles of the larger forms of art in Florence at this period.

We do not know of any books with cuts having

an earlier date than 1490, and have no reason for supposing that any of the undated books were printed before that year. The woodcuts we meet with in these earliest books are executed in a highly finished manner, they show no marks of being first attempts, on the contrary they must be considered as the culmination of an artistic and technical development which lay behind them. The origin of Florentine wood-engraving may be treated of in another place, but it is a fact which we have to remember here, that already in the beginning of the fifteenth century the art of wood-engraving was being followed as a well-developed handicraft both in Florence and in other parts of Italy, though the works of the early artists are nearly all lost. At the period at which the already highly developed art of wood-engraving begins to be used for the illustration of books, we notice that the style of the drawing is greatly under the influence of the pictorial artist, and there is no doubt that it was the painters of the various Florentine schools who supplied the drawings for the book-illustrations. The different groups of woodcuts which we are able to distinguish, represent not only different phases of a continuous development, but also the development of the art in different artistic directions, each one independent of the others. So short, indeed, is the space of time in which Florentine book-illustration unfolds its rich and manifold productions, that we are induced to consider their various groups as having existed side by side rather than as having developed one after the other. Dating only from about 1490 we find that by the beginning of the next century book-illustration is already in full decadence, and that in the second decade of that century Florentine engraving has lost its originality,

and begins to imitate the Venetian style and to repeat itself.

We can distinguish, in the Florentine Quattrocento art in general, two different styles of poetical expression in the composition and drawing of the subjects, though naturally we can draw no sharp division between them. One group of artists seems to aim at a more dramatic style of representation, the other to express its ideas in a more epic form. According to the subject represented, the dramatic changes into the elegiac, the epic into the novelistic. The leading artists of the first group are Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, and, in the first place, Donatello; the other group is represented chiefly by Ghirlandaio, Filippo Lippi, and Verrocchio.

In the examples we have before us, which, from their number and the variety of the scenes they represent, give plenty of opportunity for observation, we can, I think, perceive the differences which I have pointed out in the poetical conception of the designs.

In studying the Florentine engravings we notice on the one part a conciseness of composition, dramatic vivacity, and energy of movement, or an expression of exalted sentiment characteristic of Botticelli and his school. On the other side we have quiet story-telling and detailed compositions accompanied by great freedom of design, as represented by Ghirlandaio and his followers.

The group of woodcuts we have first to consider must be looked upon as the earliest examples of the use of wood-engraving for the illustration of printed books,[1] not only because the cuts in the earliest

[1] The *Specchio di Dio* of Cavalca, printed by Francesco di Dino, March 27, 1490, and Savonarola's *Tractato della Humiltà* (Mischomini, June 30, 1492) contain two cuts engraved in a particular style, of which the first, at any rate, dates before 1490, because the block was then already much worn. But for

printed books belong to it, but also on account of the simplicity of the style both of drawing and execution which they exhibit.

The compositions are very simple, consisting for the most part of few figures (only just as many as are necessary for the subject), in calm but expressive positions. The movements show all the restraint and quiet but pointed energy, which is the special attribute of Italian Quattrocento art, and has never since been attained. But in spite of this measured calmness of movement, these compositions represent action concentrated and accentuated to a highly dramatic effect. I have already described some examples of this type in my first article. Indeed the cuts representing the suicide of Lucretia and that of the murder of Gian Galeazo, there reproduced, perfectly reveal this dramatic spirit. We have but to imagine them transferred to a canvas of larger dimensions and executed in a more detailed style to see before our eyes complete pictures. From amongst the numerous cuts of this type we may cite as an example 'The Judgment of Solomon'[1] (Cut 16). The true mother by a rapid movement catches the arm of the executioner, whilst the king, full of joyful satisfaction, rises from his throne, and the false mother is kneeling, looking astonished at the scene. This composition is absolutely original and will sustain comparison with any other earlier or later representation of the same subject. It is not alone in the dramatic spirit of the composition, but also in the style of drawing of the faces, movements, draperies, etc., that these cuts approach the

our present purpose we may leave these on one side, because they stand quite alone and have no relations with any of the other engravings in Florentine books. See also A. W. Pollard, *Italian Book-Illustrations*, pp. 55, 61.

[1] For convenience of reference to the illustrations to my first article, I have made the numeration of the cuts continuous.

(16) FROM A *RAPPRESENTAZIONE DI SALAMONE*, S.A.

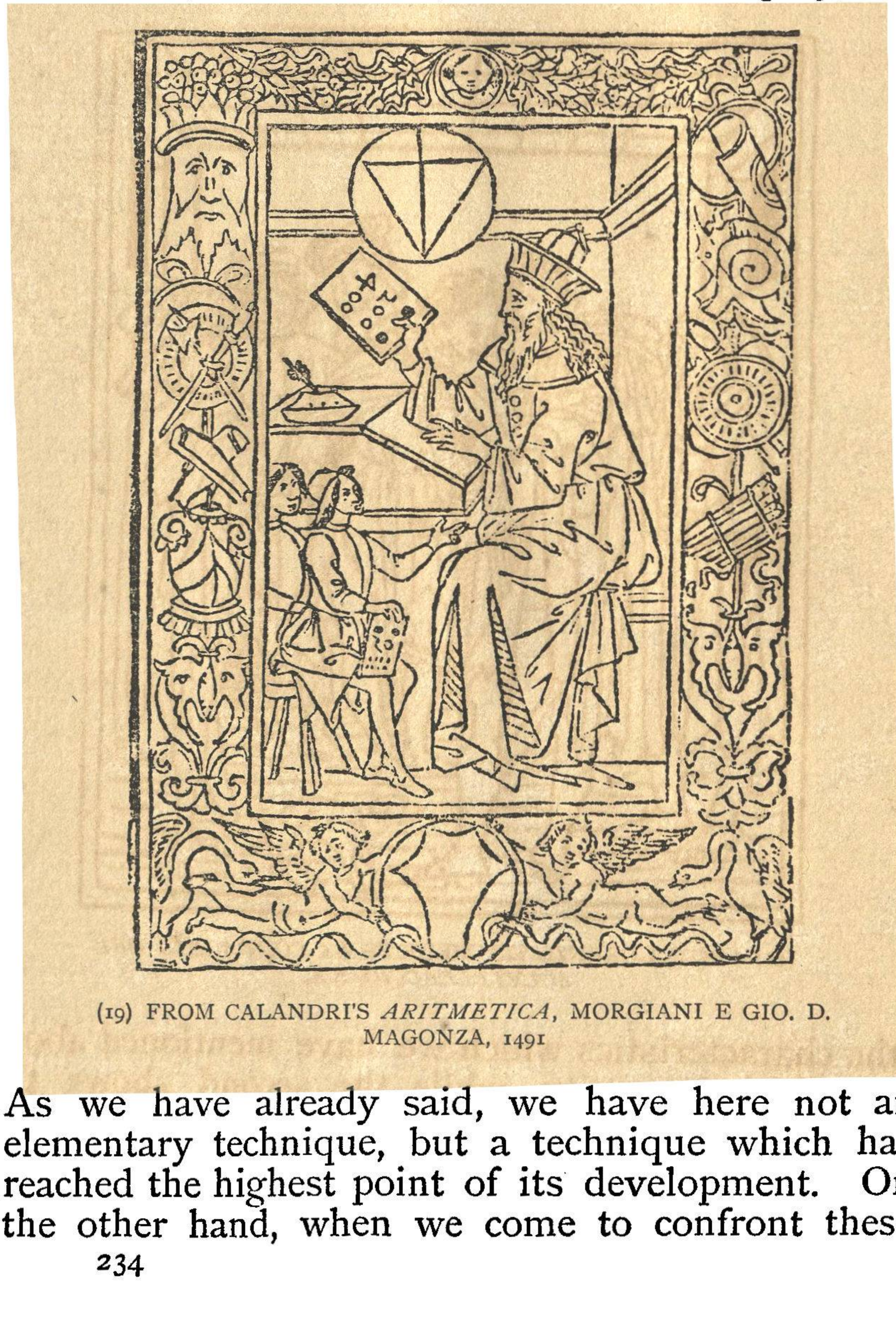
(17) FROM THE *FIOR DI VIRTU*, 1498

art of Botticelli. The outlines of the figures are given with the greatest simplicity, the accessories are subordinated to the main figures, the background is indicated merely by a few lines, a mountain or a town, a tree or some plant on the ground.

(18) FROM THE *VITA DI SAN BERNARDINO*, S.A.

The actual engraving consists almost entirely of outline, there are but few lines to indicate detail, and 'scratching' is scarcely used at all. There is no idea of 'fine' work in the execution, no tendency to indicate colour or pictorial effect. The single lines are not very thin, but have a certain robust-

ness, and the cutting is free and rough, showing great skill and long practice. We find already developed all the devices for the production, by simple typical lines, of the impression of various substances, such as hair, the folds of drapery, etc.

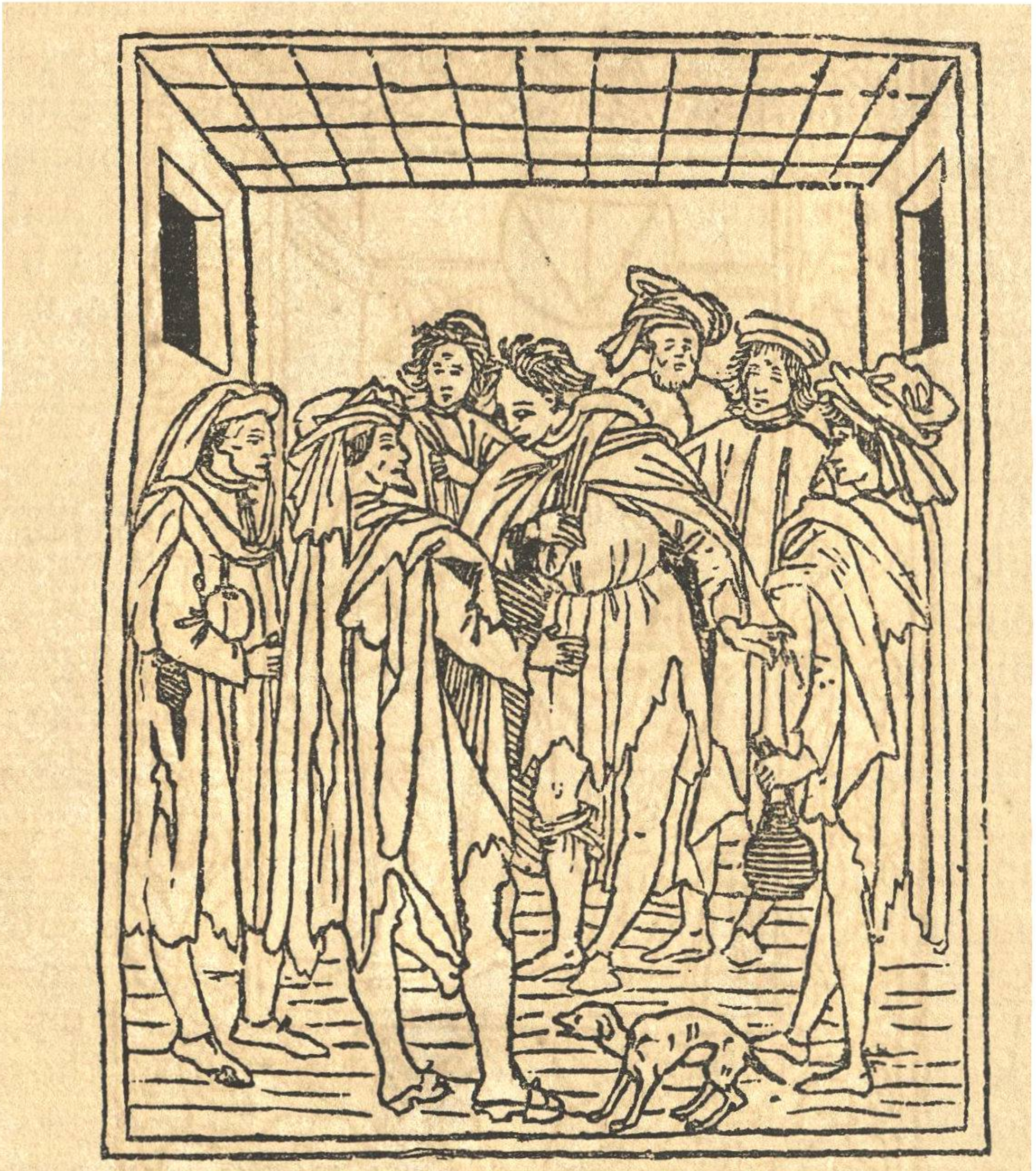


(19) FROM CALANDRI'S *ARITMETICA*, MORGIANI E GIO. D. MAGONZA, 1491

As we have already said, we have here not an elementary technique, but a technique which has reached the highest point of its development. On the other hand, when we come to confront these

cuts with those of other groups, we find that they are indeed the earliest types, but also artistically the most important. (See Cuts 18-20.)

We can distinguish amongst these early cuts two stages of development, of which the first shows



(20) FROM LORENZO DE' MEDICI'S *LA COMPAGNIA DEL MANTELLACCIO*, S.A.

the characteristics which we have mentioned above in all their purity, while the second shows the beginning of the style of the later groups. The lines become finer, the details of the figures, the muscles, folds of drapery, and general accessories

are more distinctly indicated, and now and then the foreground and the mountains of the background are left quite black, relieved only by some white lines or points. But this is only the beginning of methods quite common in the later cuts and generally considered as characteristic of the Florentine school. There is more animation in the outlines, and in the drawing we cannot overlook the beginning of the predominance of the Umbrian element in the movements, of a certain sentimentality and a somewhat sweet, timid expression in contrast to the simple energy of the earlier cuts. These characteristics we shall meet with in a more pronounced manner in the later engravings; here they only mark a transition.

In investigating the differences in the groups of Florentine engravings, we soon observe that the ornamental designs of the small borders which, as a rule, are found on Florentine woodcuts, follow closely the variations in the style of the engravings. In this respect the first group shows great simplicity and uniformity in contradistinction to the more complicated and richer forms of the later cuts. In the earliest examples we notice the repetition of the same border, which is composed of simple leaves with groups of five points in the corners or on a black ground, as in Cut 8 in my first article. Those cuts which we have spoken of as the later ones of this group keep the same border, but the ornaments in the corners are changed and are surrounded also by a black line, both inside and outside the border. (See Cut 21 and Cuts 4, 5, and 14 in my first paper.) Sometimes we meet with engravings without any border of their own, which were intended to be introduced in a large full-page border. As one of the best examples of this group we may cite the well-known

engraving in Jacopone de Todi's *Laudi* of 1490. (Reproduced in Dr. Lippmann's work on Italian engravings, and in A. W. Pollard's *Italian Book-Illustration.*) In this the artist, in portraying a Monk adoring the Virgin in glory, succeeded not

(21) FROM THE *RAPPRESENTAZIONE DI S. GIOVANNI GUALBERTO*, 1561.

only in producing a very well-designed figure, but also in expressing all the ingenuous fervour of his devotion. The following are also very fine specimens: one in 'El modo di insegnare compitare,'

[1] The only known copy is, I believe, in the possession of the Duc D'Aumale. (Reproduced in the catalogue of the Vente Destailleur, No. 984.)

another in Granollachis' *Lunare* of 1491; the nice little cuts in Calandri's *Aritmetica* of the same year (see Cut 19); *Il Libro dei commandamenti di dio* of the Fra Marco del Monte (1494); and the engravings in the *Fior di Virtù* already mentioned above (see Cut 17).

It has been already stated that the development of Florentine engraving was so rapid that the different groups have to be regarded rather as co-existent than as following one after the other. Whilst some engravers still continued to work in their old style, others had already considerably changed their technique. So we already meet in the year 1495 in the *Epistole et Evangeli*[1] a large series of cuts which (as far as they have been done for the book) may be considered as representative of the second of the principal groups of woodcuts, differing from the first group and undoubtedly of a more developed style. The text of the book consists of portions from all parts of the Bible, especially from the New Testament and from the prophets, and the tasteful and clever illustrator has very ingeniously substituted, for an initial at the beginning of each chapter, the half-length figure of the evangelist or prophet from whom the reading is taken. In this way the illustrations are made to serve in a way as titles to the chapters. It is on the whole a masterpiece of book-illustration; from the splendidly ornamented title-page to the last leaf, the book abounds in simple artistic grace in its arrangement, and each picture is full of feeling.

Some of the cuts of the *Epistole et Evangeli* have evidently served already as illustrations to

[1] Of the edition of 1495 there is known only one complete copy, preserved in the Corsiniana in Rome, and another incomplete one in the possession of Mr. Fisher of Midhurst (see his catalogue); of the edition of 1515 there is but one copy, now in the South Kensington Museum in London.

(22) FROM THE *CONTRASTO DI CARNEVALE E QUARESIMA*, S.A.
(BRIT. MUS.)

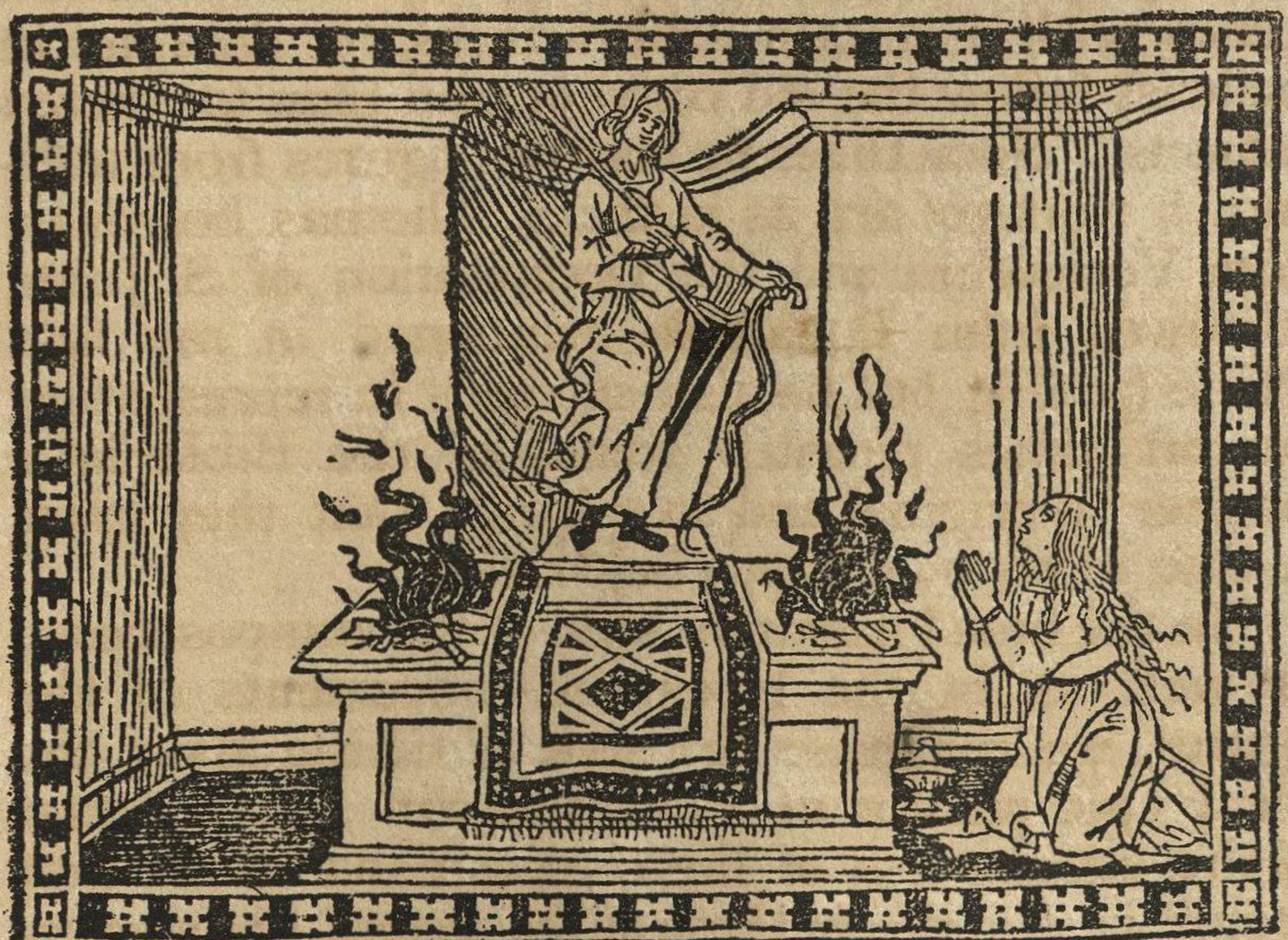
(23) FROM THE *CONTRASTO DI CARNEVALE E QUARESIMA*, S.A.
(BRIT. MUS.)

other books as, for instance, the series representing the Passion, of which we find earlier and less worn impressions in an undated edition of Bonaventura's *Meditazioni* and others, as those of The Last Judgment, The Judgment of Solomon, The Lost Son (*Rappres. del vitel faggiato*), etc. It would naturally be a hard task to prepare in a short given time about 150 cuts, so that the printer may easily be imagined to have taken from earlier books those cuts adapted to the one in hand, and may also have somewhat hurried the execution of the new ones.

We have no difficulty in distinguishing between the cuts newly made for the book and the earlier ones. (For cuts from earlier books see Cut 8 in my first paper; for cuts done for the *Epistole*, Cuts 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11.) In the first place we notice a much greater liberty and elaborateness in the composition and in the drawing. The artist represents biblical scenes with a certain arbitrariness, he does not in the least follow the old conventional plan for sacred subjects. Sometimes he borrows figures from well-known works of art, as in the S. Thomas borrowed from Verrocchio and the Decapitation of S. John, borrowed from Pollaiuolo mentioned in my first article (p. 88); but he also succeeds in representing the oft-times repeated scenes of the Bible in a manner so original and so spiritual that they must be due to his own happy inspiration.

In the broad narrative style of the compositions, as well as in the types and movements of the figures, we recognise the style of Ghirlandaio, the great epic painter of Florentine art. In contrast to the conciseness of the compositions of the first group we observe in those of the second, the numerous subordinate figures, the quieter movements, the broad lines of the draperies, the free sketchy

(24) FROM BOCCACCIO'S *NIMFALE FIESOLANO*, 1568

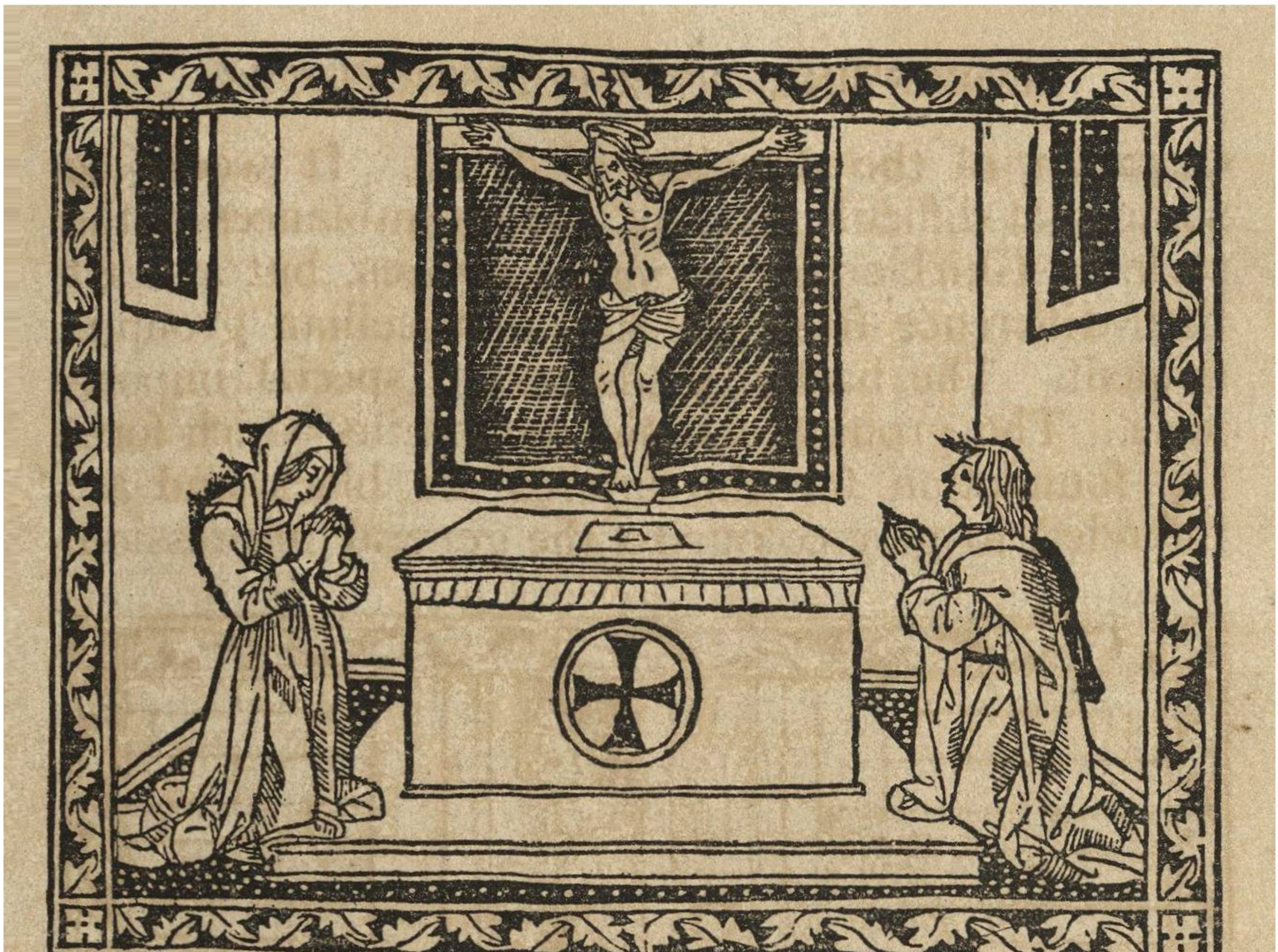


(25) FROM THE *RAPPRESENTAZIONE DI S. APOLLONIA*, 1554

character of the drawing of detail. It would be somewhat difficult to point out resemblances to the style of Ghirlandaio in single figures, but at least their difference from the first Botticellian group is evident. The backgrounds are of special importance. The ground and the mountains which form the foundation for the figures are black and are intended to give colour to the general impression.

(26) FROM THE *RAPPRESENTAZIONE DI DUE PELLEGRINI CHE ANDAVANO A S. JACOPO IN GALIZIA*, 1554

The technique in general is somewhat careless, angular, and hard, but—especially in the more carefully executed engravings—the lines are thinner than in the first group, and the shadows for the most part indicated by thin lines close together. The borders also differ from those of the earlier cuts; they are richer and more varied, and we may



(27) FROM SAVONAROLA'S *TRACTATO D. ORATIONE MENTALE*, S.A.

(28) FROM SAVONAROLA'S *COMPENDIO DI REVELAZIONE* (PACINI) 1496

notice the predominance of a design formed of rounded leaves, rather resembling an acanthus.

A very fine pendant to the *Epistole et Evangeli* is to be found in a less numerous, but not less important, series of woodcuts, which serve to illustrate an edition of Boccaccio's graceful poem, the *Nimfale Fiesolano*.[1]

The composition and drawing show a charming freshness and grace and are full of feeling and frankness. By a study of these illustrations, which so perfectly render the modern feeling which underlies the sentimental poem in its antique disguise, we come to understand Boccaccio as the 'precursor' of the fifteenth century. Here, more clearly than in the *Epistole*, we see expressed the technical style peculiar to this group. The movements already begin to show some affectations, and conventional forms are discoverable in many details and accessories. As regards the execution of the details, the cuts are rather angular and hard, a characteristic of this whole group. We notice also a freer use of 'scratching' for the shadows, and the special device of making the drapery of a figure entirely black with inner lines of white. We may observe here, especially with regard to the later cuts, how innocently the artist allows the technique of his work to be seen, not making any attempt to disguise the traces of the knife. (See Cuts 24 and 25, the latter known only in a late edition of a Rappresentazione, but belonging to an earlier edition of this or a similar poem, and 26, which must have belonged to an early edition of the life prefixed

[1] We only know the cuts in a later edition of 1568, not even a single copy of the original fifteenth century edition having been preserved. I suppose that even the edition of 1568 does not give us all the engravings of the original edition and that some cuts of the same subject to be found in later editions of *Rappresentazioni* may originally have been intended to illustrate this book.

to the *Esope*. From the same hand doubtless are some of the cuts for the Savonarola tracts, very different in their subjects from those of the *Nimfale*, but exhibiting equal enthusiasm and the same masterly style. (See Cuts 27 and 28.) These Savonarola cuts form a special group as far as their subjects go, but they possess no special artistic or technical character to separate them from other engravings.

We have every reason to believe that artists of the earlier style continued to work side by side with those producing the second group of engravings; indeed we find quite a large number of the earlier kind of cuts used in a still later book printed at the very end of the fifteenth century, Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*[1] of 1500, which contains a large number of cuts in the style of the first group, no doubt expressly made for the book. But these cuts are interspersed with a number of others, partly borrowed from other books, partly original designs which show a different style and technique and in all respects appear to be of later workmanship than those of the first two groups.

The most prominent characteristic of the engravings of this group consists in the great fineness and delicacy of the lines and in the neatness and care of the execution, the cuts contrasting especially in these particulars with the somewhat rude and coarse work of the second group. Technically these cuts must be considered as having reached the highest point of development. It would scarcely be possible for the technique of this kind of cut to attain a

[1] Of this illustrated edition of the *Morgante*, we know only of a single complete copy (in the Hofbibliothek in Vienna) and another incomplete one (in the Print-room of the Berlin Museum). It is not at all likely that an earlier Florentine illustrated edition existed, because the book is too bulky and not sufficiently popular to have been printed many times.

(29) FROM PULCI'S *MORGANTE MAGGIORE*, 1500

(30) FROM PULCI'S *MORGANTE MAGGIORE*, 1500

(31) FROM PULCI'S *MORGANTE MAGGIORE*, 1500.

(32) FROM PULCI'S *MORGANTE MAGGIORE*, 1500

greater delicacy of line or more elaborating detail. In the expressions of the faces, the hands, the hair, and in many other details, the artists have come near perfection. There is great refinement in the shading and in the use of black in the backgrounds and also in some parts of the clothing, etc. Of course these cuts are far removed, alike in technique, composition, and drawing, from the simplicity of the earliest engravings, and from the characteristic boldness of the second group, of which latter, indeed, they must be reckoned a continuation. There we recognised the style of Ghirlandaio; here there seems to me to predominate the style of those artists who transformed the broad epico-fresco manner of Ghirlandaio into a novelistic style. The influence of Piero di Cosimo is particularly noticeable here. Piero rose above the art of Ghirlandaio and developed his own original and attractive style under the influence of the school of Verrocchio; firstly of Lorenzo di Credi, and later on of Leonardo da Vinci. The romantic element in his work is seen not only in his fancy for illustrating romances, but also in the richness and diffuseness of his compositions, which seek, not to represent a single concentrated action, but to attract by a great variety of rather incoherent groups, of different scenes and motives. As an instance of the resemblance to the style of Piero di Cosimo, I may cite the characteristically short proportions of the weak-legged figures, and also in the drawing of the details. In pointing out this I do not, of course, assert that Piero furnished the drawings (in that case they would probably have shown more distinct evidence of his style), but I believe the designer to have been an artist working in the same manner and in similar directions to Piero. (See Cuts 29-32.) Besides the

Morgante we find a number of these cuts in the *Rappresentazioni* (especially in those later ones which contain several illustrations) and in some novels, as, for instance, in the *Rappresentazione di S. Venantio* (see Cut 13) (*s.a.*, Pacini, Riccardiana, 269 (38)), *Rapp. di S. Eustachio* (Corsiniana, 92, F. 22, 28), *Rapp. di S. Paulino* (Trivulziana, vol. vi.),

(33) FROM THE *ESOPE*, 1496

the *Novella della figlia del Mercante* (Erlangen), etc. The loss of so many of the popular novels may have deprived us of more than one beautiful specimen of this art.

I need not say that this classification is but an approximate one, that there are many cuts which must be placed between the different groups we have distinguished, and also many others which

show a mixture of the characteristics of the different types; sometimes drawings alike in design are executed in different manners, sometimes drawings in different styles are reproduced in the same technique. It would be useless to confuse the reader by giving details of all the little groups of cuts which do not quite coincide with those principal ones described above. There is, however, one set of the fifteenth century which must be specially mentioned as supplying the starting-point of the later technique of the sixteenth. In 1495 Piero Pacini printed a richly illustrated edition of Æsop's *Fables*[1] in which, besides woodcuts in the first and second styles we find a number of cuts differing from any of those hitherto mentioned. The figures are large in proportion to the size of the picture; but stumpy, with big heads and thin legs. In the drawing, which is similar to that of the third group, and in technique, the prominent characteristic is that of a great rounding of the forms and of the single lines. In the details, and especially in the borders, there is an accumulation of different motives, even in the same border. On the whole these cuts are of no great artistic value and the execution is formal and careless; the drawing of the animals is generally much better than that of the men. (See Cut 33.) A graceful specimen of this style may be seen on the title-page of the *Rappr. di S. Venantio* (Pacini), which is surrounded by a pretty border. (Cut 12 in my first article.) Some of the cuts also of Cessolis' *Giuoco dei*

[1] We only know of one complete copy of this book, preserved in the splendid library of Prince Trivulzio in Milan; an incomplete one is to be found in the Riccardiana in Florence. Of the two later editions of 1514 and 1520 we only know one copy of each, in the Angelica in Rome and in the library of the Baron de Landau in Florence. In later editions of *Rappresentazioni* we find some cuts which undoubtedly belong to a life of Æsop but are not in the 1495 edition. (See Cut 26.)

Scacchi of 1493 are very similar to those of the Æsop.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century we find a large number of cuts which show this same manner in a still more developed form. There is a great softness in the full rounded forms of the body, the draperies are indicated by many long and

(34) FROM *IL GRAN CONTRASTO E LA SANGUINOSA GUERRA DI MESSER CARNOVALE E MADONNA QUARESIMA*, S.A.

rounded lines; long, rounded parallel scratching lines and black spots abound in the ground and in parts of the draperies, etc. (See Cut 15.) The borders are mostly overloaded with various designs of heavy ornament. We have a series of cuts of this style in the Passion of Christ, printed in 1511 by Benvenuto from blocks which are already worn.

Good examples of the same style also are the cuts of the *Meditazioni della Morte* and a nice little cut of St. Peter (met with first in 1513). As a very fine specimen reproducing exceedingly fine drawings, we may cite the cut of the *Contrasto del Carnevale e della Quaresima* here reproduced (Cut 34).

The illustrations of Frezzi's *Quadriregio* (Pacini, 1508), although differing from the other cuts in some respects, belong also to this group and help us to fix the date of this style of engraving. Besides the border of the frontispiece and one cut borrowed from Petrarca's *Trionfi* (1499), there are 116 illustrations all drawn in the same manner, although, perhaps, by different hands. The book being in folio, the cuts are somewhat larger than most of the earlier Florentine engravings, and nearly all of them have the same border, consisting of a design composed of rows of clumsy conventional leaves. The drawings have been attributed to Luca Signorelli on account of the letters L V [1] to be seen on the first cut of the series. But there can be no longer any doubt, from the analogy of the Venetian and other signed cuts, that these monograms indicate, not the artist who drew the design, but the woodcutter, or the 'bottega,' or shop, of the firm of engravers.

Although the monogram does not help us to guess the name of the designer, from an artistic point of view we cannot fail to recognise the forms of Umbro-florentine art, much as it may be seen in the works of Signorelli and his school; a fact which has been justly observed by Dr. Lippmann. But the individual characteristics of Signorelli's style,

[1] Whenever 'L V' is to be considered a monogram of Signorelli (Luca Venturae) the letters, in conformity to the custom of the period, must not be interpreted as L (uca) V (enturae), but as an abbreviation of LVca.

especially in the outlines of the naked bodies, the movements and the faces, are not to be found in a single figure of the whole series. (See Cut 35.)

Of course in these cuts the highest point in the development of wood-engraving in Florence, both in drawing and in execution, has been passed. Whatever their interest, they cannot charm us as

(35) FROM FREZZI, *QUADRIREGIO DEL DECORSO DELLA VITA* (PACINI), 1508

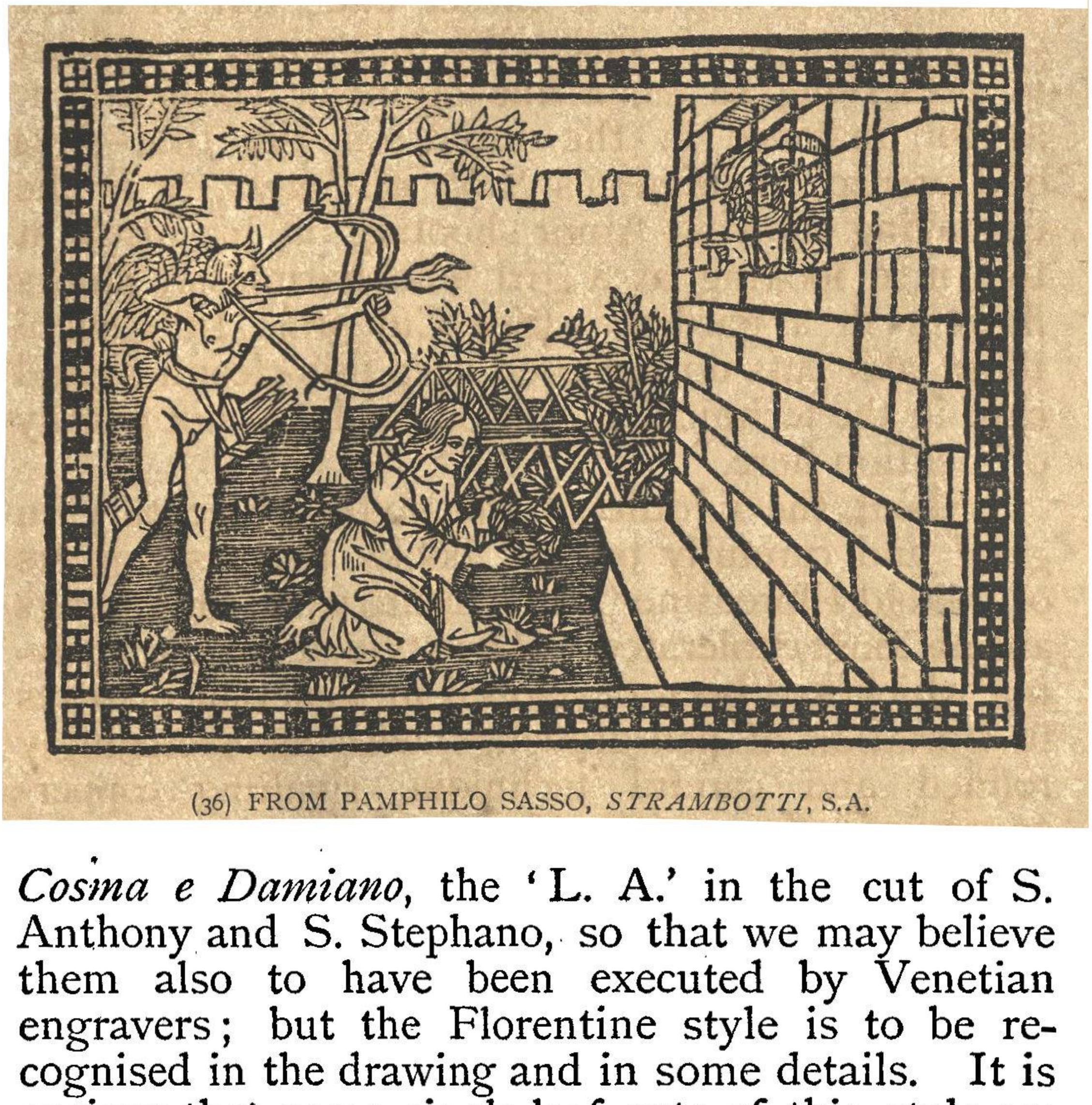
do the earlier Florentine engravings. In their conventional correctness, in the lifelessness of the scratchy lines, in their tedious repetitions of the same forms and movements and of the background, these and other similar cuts are very far removed from the simple illustrations of the fifteenth century, which were full of spirit, character, and artistic life.

This group is the last which retains an artistic importance. The work produced in Florence afterwards can hold our interest only as a technical continuation of the earlier groups or as an imitation of other styles. We may here call to mind again the group of copies executed especially for the books of Francesco di Benvenuto mentioned in our first article. In general they are nothing more than clean smooth copies of earlier cuts, but in a few cases the engraver succeeded in giving, or at least in preserving to us, a fine figure or composition, as for instance in the lutist on the title-page of Lorenzo de' Medici's *Selve d'Amore*, or in the engraving showing Amor shooting off his arrow at two men looking at a girl who harmlessly plucks flowers in a garden. (See Cut 36.) In general these later cuts do not even keep this cleanness and care in the technical execution, and are not worthy of mention here.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, in good and carefully printed books, these stragglers of the old Florentine Quattrocento wood-engravings are no longer tolerated. The style of wood-engraving which had been developed in Venetian districts in imitation of pen-drawings, with an exceedingly refined and careful technique, rivalling copper-engravings in artistic impression and pictorial effect, had by this time been introduced also into Florence. Not being an especially Florentine one, this group is outside the limits of this paper, but it must be mentioned here because already in the first half of the sixteenth century, the Venetian hatched woodcut technique (*manière ombrée*) began to exercise a certain influence on the declining art of Florentine wood-engraving. This imitation of Venetian technique is evident in some cuts to be

found in later editions of Rappresentazioni, as for instance in the cut of the *Historia di S. Antonio da Padova*, another in the *Historia di S. Stefano*, in the *Rappr. dei Setti dormienti*, *Istoria di S. Cosma e S. Damiano*, etc.

It is noticeable that we find on some of these cuts signatures of artists which occur also in Venetian cuts, as the 'L' in the cut of the *SS.*



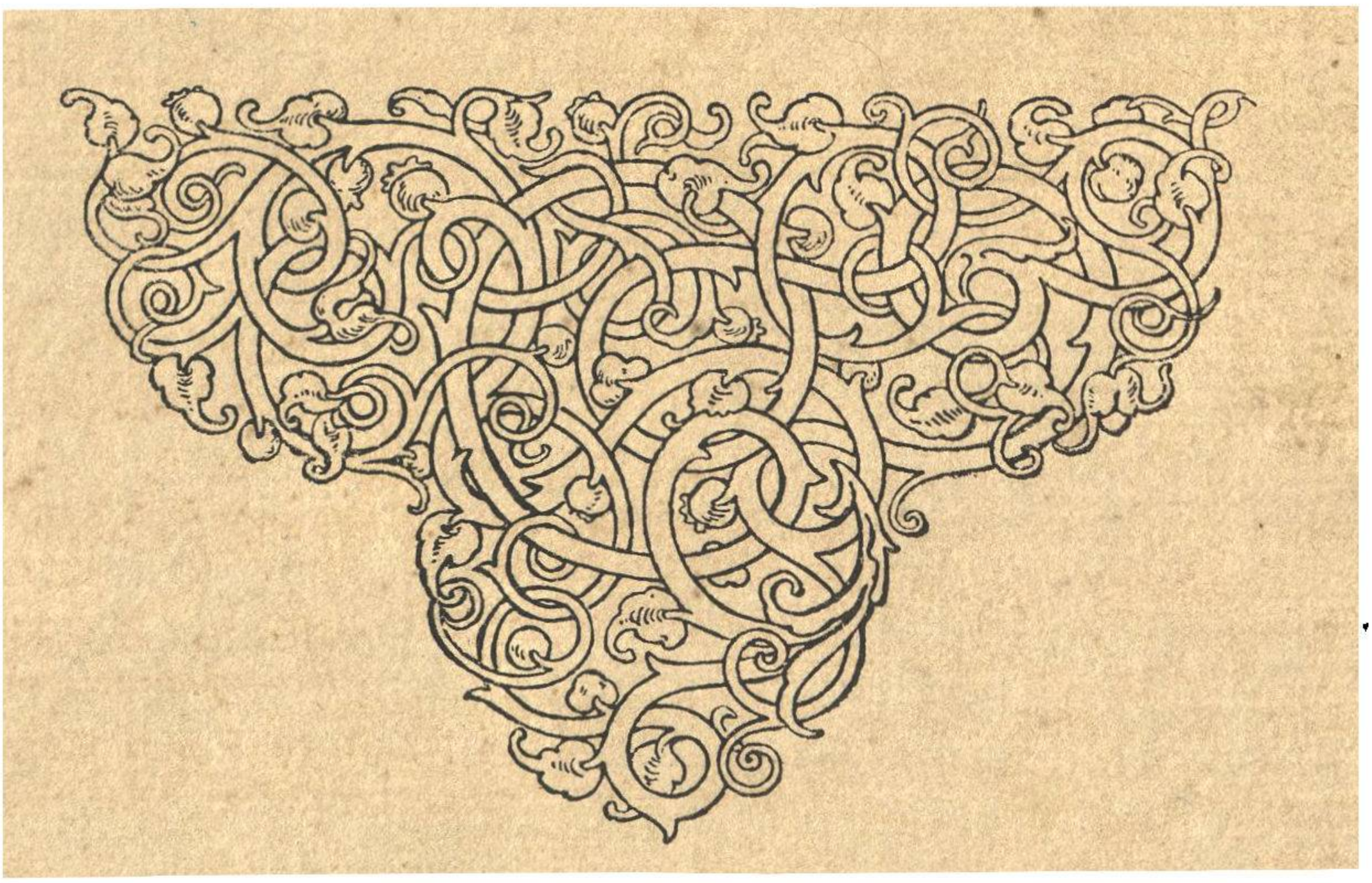
(36) FROM PAMPHILO SASSO, *STRAMBOTTI*, S.A.

Cosma e Damiano, the 'L. A.' in the cut of S. Anthony and S. Stephano, so that we may believe them also to have been executed by Venetian engravers; but the Florentine style is to be recognised in the drawing and in some details. It is curious that some single-leaf cuts of this style are generally looked upon as the earliest productions of the Florentine wood-engravers. Of these, as well as of the monogrammist who signed himself

'L. A.,' I must reserve what I have to say for another place.

I trust that this attempt at a classification of the Florentine book-illustrations will not be useless as a help to their study and artistic comprehension. I do not believe that such minute study of the origin of a work of art and of its relations to other works diminishes or interferes with the enjoyment of the beauty of the work itself. At any rate it is only by means of historical study that we can so familiarise ourselves with the productions of any period of art that, in place of a mass of enigmatical monuments, allowing of every kind of fantastic and arbitrary interpretation, a real process of development begins to unfold itself before our eyes, helping us in some measure to understand those characteristic beauties, which in their full extent may be felt, but can never be explained in words.

PAUL KRISTELLER.



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VENETIAN DUCALI

DURING the last quarter of the fifteenth century there was formed in Venice a company of artists, who, under the denomination of impressor, stampador, intagliador, miniator, etc., were employed solely in the embellishment of books. Authentic documents, preserved in the Venetian archives, leave no doubt of this fact; and the magnificent series of illustrated books issued at Venice between a little before 1490 and about 1525, which has recently found an enthusiastic historian in the Duc de Rivoli, is a conclusive proof of the skill of the artists who were concerned in their production.

It is not our business here to pursue the subject of printed book-illustration; but, the reader's attention is called to the importance which it assumed at Venice to show that a curious fact, the almost entire absence of native liturgical MSS., at least of a sumptuous kind, was not owing to any lack of artistic talent. We shall deal with the cause forthwith; but our main purpose is a brief study of the very prolific yet peculiar works which in Venice took the place of those beautiful breviaries, missals, horæ, and similar MSS., which in

other Italian cities employed the arts of the penman and the miniaturist.

The MSS. in question are briefly generalised as 'Ducali,' but while passing under this title they really consist of several classes or varieties which may be more strictly defined.

1. *Promissioni, i.e.* the oaths taken by Doges and other Magistrates on their assumption of office.

2. *Commissioni.*—Diplomas granted by the Doges to the Deputy Governors of provincial towns.

3. *Capitolari.*—Statutory commissions given to the Procuratori of San Marco.

4. *Mariegole or Matricole.*—Collections of the Statutes, Regulations, and a variety of other matter relating to the various *Scuole* or Associations of Religious Orders, Art-workers, and Craftsmen of certain trades.

Fifty years ago, a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, referring incidentally to Venetian Ducali, expressed the opinion that not more than fifty of them were to be found in England. This scarcity the writer traced to the action of the Venetian Seigniory, who were accustomed, according to his conjecture, to destroy the commissions immediately on the return of any holder of them from his employment. But as the Ducali are to be seen in many libraries besides those in England, and as there are now many more than fifty in the British Museum alone, exclusive of copies of *Libri d'Oro* or lists of noble families with their armorials, it must be assumed that the writer's conjecture had no foundation in fact. One of the Additional MSS. in the British Museum (No. 20758) contains, indeed, a list of Ducali in various libraries here and abroad, proving, if further proof were needed, that the sys-

tematic destruction of Ducali on political grounds was never practised.

On the other hand, it is true, they have frequently been mutilated, for the sake of the pictures and ornamental titles. Indeed, one MS. in the British Museum (Additional, No. 20916) is simply a guard-book containing a considerable number of the illuminated title-pages, frontispieces, and borders, abstracted from Ducali. Many Ducali consequently are found destitute of their preliminary leaves. Sometimes a commission or diploma is met with in which the original names have been erased and others substituted, or, with inserted pictures taken from other documents. This was done probably to save expense, as in many cases the first artists in the State were employed to paint the pictures, and the most skilful binders engaged to bind the volumes. The names of such artists as Titian, Tintoretto, and Paolo Veronese, Benedetto Bordone, and the Bellini have been claimed for their production, and in some instances the attributions are undoubtedly correct. Certain of these documents may, therefore, contain masterpieces of painting, others, splendid examples of decorative art. No other city can show such an abundance of illuminated legal documents as Venice, not even Bologna or the Papal Chancery. Most of the costly illuminated volumes executed in other cities were intended to gratify the luxurious taste, or to swell the magnificence of princes; or were produced as offerings to the Church. But at Venice it was a matter of direct statute that the Doge himself was forbidden under any pretence to receive presents, except of rose-water, flowers, scented herbs, or balsam. At Venice the law strictly prohibited every magistrate

from accepting even the smallest gift, so as to set aside every cause of bribery or corruption in the administration of justice. Every ambassador was pledged, on his return from a foreign court, to lay before the Senate any token of honour which might have been conferred upon him, and gifts offered to him were understood as being offered to the Republic.[1] The Provveditore alle Pompe prescribed the rules even of civil costume, and regulated the banquets of the gilds on the days of their public festivals. Hence it has come to pass, without the intervention of any legal destruction of these or any other sumptuous documents, that MSS. of the kinds existing elsewhere are exceedingly rare. One such rarity is now at Paris and is deserving of a description which space will not permit us to attempt. It is described by Waagen.[2] There is also a small volume in the Correr Museum attributed to the pen of Francesco Veria, the miniatures of which are by the artists of the Grimani Breviary. In reality, however, this is not a Venetian MS.—it is merely one of the treasures of the Marcian Library, the gift of a non-resident nobleman who was a cardinal.

Perhaps, the most important of the Ducali are those denominated Ducal Promissioni—thin volumes, usually in small quarto size, containing the oath taken by the Doges on the day of election. At least these are the oldest of the series. The earliest Promissio extant, containing the accustomed miniature as a frontispiece, is now in the Imperial Library at Vienna.[3] It is that of Francesco Dandolo (1328-1339), and is dated 1328. As a rule, on opening one of these volumes, the first illustration

[1] An ambassador sent to Rome in 1560, having accepted the honour of the Cardinalate was, upon his return, exiled from Venice.

[2] *Art Treasures* (Paris), iii. p. 331.

[3] Cod. Foscarini, No. 227.

that presents itself is a portrait of the Doge, the nominal head of the state, wearing the robes and cap of office pertaining to the ceremony of election. If he be not the person taking the oaths, as is usual in the wider class of commissioni, then the portrait of that individual also is given. Accompanying these two there usually appears the Madonna and child, and the patron-saint, either of the city, or of the family which holds the document. (See Plates.)

In the fourteenth century it became the custom to represent the Virgin Mary, the type of purity, as indicating the special function of the Doge to punish crimes against the person, especially those of seduction and adultery, then apparently only too common. It was also usual to add an illustration symbolising the crime, sometimes by two persons of opposite sex embracing each other, or by some scene from the Bible illustrative of the subject. The woman taken in adultery is represented in the Promissio of Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354) (Cod. 308, Imper. Lib., Vienna).

As time went on, other figures and scenes were added, mostly in small panels set in the borders surrounding the title-page. The two Promissioni of Nicolà Tron (1471-1473) and Nicolà Marcello (1473-1474) have a small 'quadretto' in which are represented, in one the Almighty, in the other the Virgin Mary, with the Doge kneeling in front. Assisting in the act of devotion is Saint Mark, the patron-saint of the Republic, and Saint Nicholas, as having the same name as the Doge. The Tron Promissio, formerly in the Cicogna Collection at Venice, was brought to England in 1835 by the Rev. Walter Sneyd of Denton, near Oxford, with other Canonici MSS., and was sold with his library.

The miniaturist, fortunately, had signed his name on the frontispiece as Marsilio da Bologna, known otherwise as the illuminator of a fifteenth-century MS. with beautiful miniatures described by Bandini.[1] The present example represents the Virgin and child—St. Mark, St. Nicholas, and the Doge kneeling before the Virgin, surrounded by a border of foliages and flowers enclosing circlets containing various animals. On the initial 'I,' formed of an architectural column, is written 'Marsilius Bononiensis fecit,' which thus identifies the work.

Next in date to these early Promissioni come the Capitolari of the Ducal Counsellors,—the regulators of the supreme authority, without whom the Doge could do nothing affecting the state. As in the Promissioni, the subject of the pictures is almost uniformly the same in all. In the first page, before the exordium of the oath, either alone or set in the midst of an elegant border, stands the figure of the counsellor. This type, found on the title-page of the Capitolare of the Council of Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354), continued to be followed until the end of the sixteenth century. Two only of these codices about this latter period abandon the usual subjects:—that of the Consigliere Pietro Sanuto which gives the Madonna and child, before whom, in a devotional attitude, stands the possessor of the diploma, near the saint of his own name, and that of Pietro Morosini, which has the symbolised figure of the Republic in the majestic form of a crowned queen seated upon a lion (the lion of St. Mark), which holds in one paw the book of his Gospel. The lady bears in her right hand a naked sword, emblem of the executive power, and in her left a pair of scales,

[1] *Catal. of Laurentian MSS.* ii. 803.

IVRO AD EVANGELI
SANCTA DEI GOT
LIVS CONTARENO
Procurator Sancti Marci, Constitutus
super Commissarijs de ultra Canale, Qui
nunc sum, et pro Tempore Er

thus altogether representing Justice as the central principle of righteous government. A somewhat earlier example—a Ducale, now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 21819), being the Commission from Lorenzo Priolo (1556-1559) to Marcantonio Gritti, has the regal figure seated on two lions. She is placed near the sea, thus symbolising the city of Venice under the same guise of Justice. The scene is surrounded by an ornamental border, enriched with groups of weapons, in the upper line of which is a panel containing the winged lion of St. Mark, and at foot, on a decorative shield, the arms of the commissioner. In panels at the sides are small subjects taken from the Holy Scriptures.

The oldest of these capitolari with a miniature, is one granted in the year 1342, therefore by the Doge Bartolommeo Gradenigo. It is now in the Correr Museum at Venice (A. 6. 3). Another granted by Andrea Dandolo is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna (cod. Foscarini, 308). The one of Pietro Sanuto, written after 1562, is, or was, in the Cicogna Collection (No. 841). That of Morosini is in the Correr Museum (A. 5. 30), and dates after 1577.

Next after the Doge himself, the most conspicuous officers of the state were the magistrates, called Procuratori of St. Mark. This office, originally created for the superintendence of public works, became after the twelfth century a sort of Justiceship, charged with the fulfilment of pious legacies, the care of widows, orphans, and imbeciles, the custody of the diplomatic archives—the most precious MSS. of the Treasury, the Church, and the Commune—and the affairs of foreign residents. The volume which contained the statutory regulations or commissions issued to the Procuratori

was—unlike the ordinary volumes of civil and municipal statutes—always illuminated. On the first page is depicted either the portrait of the magistrate, surrounded by wreaths of foliage and flowers, or the same figure in the act of taking the oath upon the open Gospel, in the presence of the patron-saint of the Republic. The earliest known example of this class is one in the Cicogna Collection (No. 2229), granted in 1637 to Paolo Belegno.

After the commencement of the thirteenth century, new magistrates were elected to meet the increasing requirements of a government already excessively complicated, and to watch over the multifarious branches of the public administration. Every tribunal, civil or criminal, every official, every provisor of the coinage, of the various gilds, of the taxes, revenues, and customs, was in possession of a diploma called a capitolare, into which were transcribed the instructions, laws, and regulations, in detail, for the due execution of which the government held him responsible. In these diplomas the subjects painted by the miniaturists were chiefly religious, always more or less symbolical. But when it was intended to indicate precisely the special attributes of the office to which the volume belonged, the illustration became also special. Thus, for the magistrate presiding over the Holy Places, and the redemption of slaves, the picture represented—say, the redemption of a slave: on one side, a poor man clothed, stretching out his hand for alms, on the other a captive naked, and having his hands bound behind his back. In the Capitolare of the Provisor of Public Money is the figure of St. Mark with the lion at his feet, at his right hand a bag of golden coins, over which is placed a compass, emblem of economy, and at his left an iron chest. In that of

the Council of Forty, the tribunal of civil causes, the painter represents in a realistic scene the judges seated on the bench. On the right are the litigants, or their procurators, on the left the witnesses. In that of the Cottimo of Alexandria we have a prospect of that city, its port, and vessels of various countries coming and going. And so on, the illustration varying with the office. But all these miniatures are influenced by the same principle, while differing of course widely in the vigour of conception or skill of execution. If the artist, under the impulse of unwonted originality, essayed to diverge from the beaten track, still he limited himself to the figures of St. Mark, the Doge, or the Queen-city, as recipient of the oath. (See Plate IV.)

The Capitolare of the 'Luoghi Pii e Riscatlo degli Schiavi' of the year 1676 (Luigi Contarini, 1676-84) is now kept in the Archivio Generale. That of the 'Provveditori al Denaro Pubblico' is described by Cicogna. That of the Forty, dated 1768 (Alvisio Mocenigo iv. 1768-79), and that of the Cottimo d'Alessandria, are in the Archivio Generale.

None of the diplomas hitherto mentioned, extremely curious as some of them are, can compare either in beauty, richness, or numbers with the Commissioni Ducali, which indeed have given their name to the whole of these Venetian diplomas.

When, after the conquest of Istria, Dalmatia, Constantinople, and the Greek isles, and still more after the acquisition of territory in Istria and the neighbouring mainland, and in the great plain of Lombardy, the appointment of lieutenant or deputy governors became absolutely necessary, numbers of such governors were created under the various names of capitaneo, podestà, provveditore, or rettore. As usual, they were placed under

stringent oaths of fidelity and vigilance, to represent the mother-city, administer justice, and supervise the local customs and internal constitution of the several cities or provinces submitted to their jurisdiction. As usual, too, every such magistrate was intrusted with a diploma or commission, which was at once his administrative code and his testimonial of authority. The opening pages of these commissions were almost invariably enriched with miniatures, borders, fine initial letters, armorial bearings, or ornaments of one kind or another. The earliest known to exist in Venice is one of the year 1478 (Andrea Vendramino, 1476-78, Giov. Mocenigo, 1478-85). None of those in the British Museum are so early as this. They range between the end of the fifteenth and the end of the eighteenth century. The oldest with a miniature is dated 1498, being granted by Agostino Barbadigo to Giov. Andrea Pizzamano as Podestà of Conegliano in the March of Treviso. It is therefore almost contemporary with the acquisition of the island of Cyprus, bequeathed to the Venetians by Caterina Cornaro, its last queen, in 1489.

In these commissions dating from the golden age of Venetian supremacy, the first half of the sixteenth century, we find the most beautiful examples of Venetian miniature art, and an almost constant uniformity in the subjects represented. They consist of the portrait of the commissioner kneeling before the Madonna and child; on his right hand his namesake saint and sometimes also St. Mark, from whom he receives his diploma. Sometimes he receives it from the Doge, sometimes from the Republic personified as a Queen or Figure of Justice. There are, it is true, occasional splendid exceptions to this general type, such as

NOS ANDREAS GRITI DEI GRATIA DVX VENETIARVM ET

Omnittimus tibi Nobili Viro Aloysio Capello, dilecto ciui, et fideli nostro, & in bona gratia uadat, & sit de nostro mandato Potestas Castri Tranchi, per menses XVI, et tantum plus, quantum Successor tuus illuc uenire distulerit, habendo ad honore

the coronation of the Republic by the Doge, with the deputy kneeling as before. At times Justice appears, with the lion holding under his paw a half-naked captive in chains—an emblem of crime. Again we have figures of the cardinal Virtues, represented as receiving the diploma from the patron-saint of the city, and again the deputy coming out of a church to go on board the galley which is to convey him to his distant regency. Opposite to this is placed a view of the city of which he is the destined governor.

Even now by no means scarce, and from their character originally very numerous, these commission-diplomas are found scattered throughout Europe in various public and private libraries. Some of the finest are those still kept in Venice. One fine example showing the Republic crowned by St. Mark is in the Correr Museum. It was granted in 1580 to Piero Gradenigo, as Podestà of Grisignana, by Nicolà da Ponte.

One representing a captive beneath the lion's paw is in the Marciana (MCCCLXIV. cl. vii. MSS. Contarini.) Its date is 1555, being given to Girolamo Venier, as podestà and capitaneo of Sacile, by Francesco Venier. The one representing the cardinal Virtues receiving the diploma was formerly in the collection of Count Guglielmo Pourtalès at Venice. Others, representing the departure of the deputy, Pietro Contarini in 1551 (Franc. Donato, 1545-53), and Paolo Contarini in 1575 (Aloisio Mocenigo, 1570-77), with the view of Candia, belonged to Count Giov. Battista Contarini *delle statue*. Among the richest in the British Museum must be counted those granted by Andrea Gritti.[1] The ones thus mentioned are, of course,

[1] See Add. MSS. 20980, 20981, 21395, 21414, several cuttings in 20916, and Egerton MSS. 753, 754, 755.

only samples among many others of what the MSS. are like, but space will not permit an extended list.

Of the Mariegole the Museum has no very striking examples. Still there are a few which are worth examination as presenting a phase of Venetian art. After the pattern of the Roman colleges of artisans, who sought the protection of their pagan deities, every art, trade, or profession exercised in Venice formed an association or gild under an officer called a *guastaldo* or captain, and was placed moreover under the patronage of a certain saint. The association gave food to the poor brother no longer able to work, after his death succoured his widow and children, portioned his daughters, bore the expenses of divine service, marched in the frequent holiday processions, and assisted in other acts of piety or public munificence. No workman could profitably exercise his craft except as a member of some corporation in which his name was enrolled, and which inquired into his ability to uphold its credit by his skill. In the Middle Ages it was a common custom, not only in Italy, but throughout civilised Europe, for all crafts, trades, and professions to be constituted into gilds, and hence in Venice the doctors, druggists, glassworkers, tailors, and indeed every conceivable industry, even sailors and gondoliers—all, in short, who belonged to any recognised occupation—were enrolled under a magistracy who watched over the interests of the corporation. The regulations of every such association, proposed by itself and approved by the government, were neatly transcribed into a handsome book of parchment, often covered with rich stuffs or gilded plates of metal, enriched with ornamental titles, illuminated borders, and a miniature representing the saint venerated by the art,

with perhaps another portraying the principal incidents of his life, accompanied by symbols indicating the occupation he had followed, that of course being the one referred to in the documents.

The oldest extant illuminated Mariegola, or Matricola, of any Venetian gild, is that of the skinner-furriers. It dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is now in the Correr Museum (A. 6. 20).

In the British Museum (Additional MS. 15817) we find a 'Matricola de la scola del santissimo corpo di M. Jesu Cristo,' founded in the parish church of San Giovanni Ellemosinario de Rialto, etc., under the doge Nicolà da Ponte (1578-85), containing the Regulations and Lists of Members from 1582 to 1774. Prefixed is a painting of the celebration of the Mass in 1582, with several portraits. This volume differs in size from the Commissions, being in folio, while the latter, as we have said, are almost always in small quarto.

The Venetians were an essentially businesslike and practical people, and consequently frankly recognised that in the success of their arts and trades lay the principal elements of their substantial prosperity. Nobles of ancient lineage thought it no disgrace to engage in merchandise or finance. Moreover, at times these corporations had rendered signal service to the Republic in arms. For example, during the revolt of Bacamonte Tiepolo, the Painters' Gild had effectively supported the Government, and the fact is commemorated to this day on the Standard of the Fraternity of St. Luke. Such deeds would justify the veneration with which the gild-books were adorned and preserved and transmitted from age to age. An example of such religious affection occurs in the book of the *arte*

di calafati (ship-caulkers) in the arsenal. The famous binding of the Grimani Breviary, with its richly-chased, silver-gilt covers, is a specimen of the splendour in which many of those precious volumes are enshrined. But neither the binding nor the miniatures contained in the volume itself surpass in richness the decorations of the venerable Mariegola of this Venetian craft, which claims, of course, an existence dating from Noah's ark, and with better right, the glory of having kept upon the Mediterranean for centuries that fleet of galleys which were the fortress and vanguard of the people, born and living in the midst of the waters, against the terrors of foreign invasion. Their greatest rivals, the Genoese, had felt at Chioggia the rebuke of this veteran fleet. The Matricola was illuminated between 1577 and 1579 by Giorgio Colonna, and is kept in the custody of the Guastaldo of the craft. It is the only one continued to the present day, and authorised by the government.

The name given to those communities by the Venetians was not, of course, the Teutonic 'gild,' but 'scuola' or 'schola,' applied originally, it would seem, to the religious societies of the thirteenth century. After the establishment of the later schools, the elder ones were termed *scuole grande*. They comprised every class of citizen. Inscribed in their books were patricians, clergy, physicians, and public functionaries, to the number of as many as five hundred names. The *scuole grande* were, of course, chiefly devoted to the performance of the good works of Christian charity; but by means of constant subscriptions and donations they found themselves at length rich enough to erect splendid edifices for their head quarters — edifices which are still monuments of zeal and patriotism, and

examples of such exquisite architectural beauty as to be not only the marvel of Venice, but the envy of the world. The saloon in which they still assemble is a specimen of the sumptuous decoration lavished on every apartment destined for the devotions, the deliberations, or the banquets of the Fraternity. The *Statuti*, as the Record-book of the *Flagellanti* was called, was adorned with two miniatures: first, the symbolic scene of the Flagellation of Christ, then the saint who was the chosen patron of the school. The oldest of this class is the Statute Book of the *Scuola Grande* of St. Theodore, now in the Correr Museum (A. 6. 18).

Every parish had its school of brethren, whose business was to help the sick and needy,—minor charities assisting the clergy. They, too, possessed regulations sanctioned by the supreme authority, in which were written down the ordinances, subsidies, and ceremonies dealt with by the society. The principal illustration was the Crucifixion—the next, as usual, the patron-saint, with or without some of the more notable events of his life. Of the *scuole piccole* of devotion, the earliest Matricola is that of St. Catherine dei Sacchi, painted between 1360 and 1390 by Cristoforo Cortese, in the Cicogna Collection (No. 2780). Of about the same date is that of St. Christopher *dei Mercanti*, in the Archivio Generale. When we consider that during the time which produced the majority of these MSS., the art of printing was in full swing in Venice, and that many of the books produced were of a liturgical character, it seems very curious that scarcely any such books exist in manuscript form as in other lands, notwithstanding the restrictions alluded to at the beginning of this article. The Duc de Rivoli informs us in his preface to the *Bibliographie des*

Livres à figures Vénitiens, 1469-1525: that from 1491 to 1500 there were printed and published in Venice no fewer than 1491 works of various kinds, or twice as many as in Rome, Milan, and Florence put together. From the examples of ornament in the borders and initials of many of these volumes, it is clear that the designs were the work of men who had practised miniature art. Take, for example, the quarto missal printed for Lucantonio Giunta in 1509. It shows very distinctly the influence of Benedetto Bordone, and traced farther, that of the Paduan and Milanese schools. The later examples of the diplomas show the same influence. Even those of earliest date incline rather to Milanese than to Roman or Florentine. A reason has been offered for the paucity of liturgical and other illuminated MSS. of Venetian origin; nevertheless, the Grimani Breviary and other richly illuminated codices in the Marciana are proofs that Venice is not altogether without such treasures. But they are mostly exotic; the real representative of Venetian miniature art, after all, is the Ducale. And were it possible to collate the examples existing in various libraries, perhaps some clue might be found to the difficult question of their artistic authorship, more especially if it should be the good fortune of some diligent explorer to unearth the account-books which recorded the sums paid for their execution.

JOHN W. BRADLEY.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

I. The Promissio of Antonio Grimani on his election as Doge, July 21, 1521.

This is a good example of the state of miniature art in Venice at this date. The bronze-gold foli-

ages are finely drawn, and the landscape background neatly executed. The miniature scene represents the induction of the venerable admiral into his ducal office by the patron-saint of the city. The new doge, wearing the official cloak of cloth of gold with its large ermine cape, grasps the staff of the lion-bearing scarlet banner of the Republic which St. Mark, who is draped in red tunic and heavy blue mantle, holds in his left hand, while he places his right on Grimani's head. A diminutive attendant behind the latter holds on a cushion the ducal cap. Over a fantastic framework are placed four 'puttini,' designed in most uncomfortable attitudes, holding on by the ornaments, the whole most carefully and elaborately executed. Near them are three birds finely finished in silver. The arms of Grimani—paly of eight pieces, *ar.* and *gu.*, a crosslet of the second on the third pale—are placed in front of the marble cist amid delicate violet sculptures, and within a carved wreath of bays (Add. MS. 18000).

II. The Promissio of Giulio Contareno, Procurator of St. Mark. The commencing words of the document, surrounded by a border-frame with emblematic miniature of the Procurator kneeling before St. Mark, who is accompanied by his lion. The evangelist is seated beside a colonnade on a judgment-seat placed upon three marble steps. He wears a pale-rose tunic with yellow lining, and a pale-blue robe over his knees, and is leaning forward to listen, while the kneeling magistrate, with folded hands, recites the words of his oath. The Procurator wears a scarlet state-robe, with wide sleeves lined with white silk or ermine.

In the side frames are two oblong panels containing—on the left an open hilly landscape; on the right a Roman soldier with long spear held

upright. At foot, in an elegant frame, are the arms of Contareno, quarterly 1 and 4 *or*, a cross pattée, *gu.*; 2 and 3 *or*; three bends *az.*, one of the numerous bearings of that distinguished family, supported by dragon-like forms, in an open-air scene. The frame itself is filled in with a variety of decorative objects, usual in Venetian renaissance pilasters, such as masks, cups, dolphins, etc., in very dark bronze-gold, on coloured grounds, in the upper portions green, in the lower chiefly lake. The text consists of three lines of Roman capitals, and three of upright italic script. Two lilac-grey cornucopias, from which issue finely finished female half-figures, from the lower framework of the principal miniature. The manipulation shows considerable practical facility; although, on the whole, the ornaments are not so excellent in drawing as they might be (Add. MS. 20916. fol. 5).

III. A Commissio from the Doge Andrea Gritti (1523-1539), to Aloysio Capello, as Podestà of Castel Franco. The first few words of the document are surrounded by a border-frame containing renaissance foliage, portrait-panels—a miniature of the Virgin and child, before whom stands an episcopal figure; the Capello arms party per fess *arg.* and *az.*, a Capello pr. with strings crossed saltire-wise, are hung at foot. The colour of the ground, in the frame on which the twining branches are placed, is a dull rose-pink, the fruits and flowers being blue, orange, etc. The Virgin is draped in a red tunic, a mantle of blue passing over her head and across her lap. The bishop holds a scarlet-covered Gospel book. In the side panels are golden medallions on green grounds, containing elegant female heads. The slab containing the name and title of the Doge and the winged-lion emblem is rich deep scarlet,

and the shield containing the commissioner's arms is of bronze-gold, and is hung by ribbons from the frame in front of an open rocky landscape. The miniature, the work rather of a painter than a miniaturist, is fairly designed, but the manipulation is less skilful, or more hasty, than the bold and striking scheme of colour will at first permit us to notice. The document still retains its original binding (Egerton MS. 755).

IV. Commissio from Gerolamo Priolo, Doge (1559-1567), to Benedetto Semitecolo as Captain of the Galleys, 1564. In binding of crimson leather, gilt-tooled with scroll-work. In centre of upper cover the arms of Semitecolo, bendy of 6 *az.* and *or*, in chief *az.*, a lion *pass. or.* On the lower his name.

The frontispiece consists of a seascape at sunrise, with the departure of a squadron of galleys, the awnings on which are gaily draped in green, red, and yellow, expedited by the powerful and visible breath of a mythical figure represented in the clouds. On these clouds are seated three venerable personages, perhaps the Almighty with two saints, arrayed as bishops. In the foreground is a representation of Neptune in a marine chariot formed of an immense scallop shell with peculiar golden wheels, drawn by a pair of sea-horses. The scene is enclosed within an architectural frame in bronze-gold relieved with panels or medallions of crimson containing figurines in gold. Neptune's hair is poetically represented as green rushes tipped with gold. A characteristic miniature to this class of documents (Add. MS. 18846).

J. W. B.

ENGLISH PROVINCIAL PRESSES

III

OUR third article on Provincial Presses deals with the private press of Sir Henry Savile at Eton College, the King's Printer at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1639, the presses of the Civil War and the Revolution, and finally we give a concise chronological arrangement from 1695 to the close of the first half of the eighteenth century.

XVI.—Sir H. Savile's Eton Press, 1610-13

Archdeacon Cotton, in his *Typographical Gazetteer*, gives the following quotation from Bagford's papers in the British Museum: 'Sir Henry Savile, meditating an edition of St. Chrysostom, prepared a fount of curious Greek letters, which in those days were vulgarly called *The silver letter*, not being cast in silver, but for the beauty of the letter so called. He then made provision of presses and other materials for the undertaking, and resolved to print in Eton College, and there set up his presses, and about the year 1607 he printed some small pieces in Greek before he went in hand with the great work of St. Chrysostom.'

In spite, however, of this statement, no specimen of the Eton press appears to be extant bearing an earlier date than 1610, and if Bagford intended to imply that these small pieces were printed off by way of experiment there could be little necessity for

doing this, since John Norton, the King's Printer in Greek, was employed for the work. In 1610 were printed the first three volumes of the *Chrysostom*, which is here cited as No. 1, the third volume being finished about the same time as No. 2, *Gregorius Nazianzenus*, while No. 3, *Joannes Euchaitensis* came out about a month later. This appears from the prefaces of Nos. 2 and 3. The descriptions given below of the productions of the Eton press are all from copies in the Bodleian Library.

1. Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρός ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων τόμος πρῶτος, Δι' ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἀναλωμάτων Ἐρρίκου τοῦ Σαβιλίου ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐκδοθείς. [Royal arms within Garter.] *Etonæ, in Collegio Regali, Excudebat Ioannes Norton, in Græcis &c. Regius Typographus. Anno* cIↃ. IↃc. XII. folio.

All the eight volumes (allowing for difference of number) have this Greek title with the Latin imprint, and date 1612. The colophons, however, to the first seven run *Etonæ, Excusum in Collegio Regali*, with different dates, volumes 1-3 have MDCX; the fourth, MDCXII; the fifth, 1611; the sixth, MDCXI; the seventh, 1612. The colophon to volume 8 is FINIS. Anno Dom. 1613.

The first volume only is honoured with an engraved title by Leonard Gaultier,

S. Ioannis Chrysostomi opera Grecé, Octo Voluminibus, *Etonæ, In Collegio Regali, Excudebat Ioannes Norton, in Græcis etc. Regius Typographus*, 1613.

This is within a border containing figures of Nazian[zenus], Athanasius, Basilius and Cyrillus, seated in niches between architectural columns. Above are the arms of Eton College, surmounted by the royal arms; and on the dexter side are those of Merton, Magdalen. Christ Church, and New

Colleges displayed on banners. Between the banners is an obelisk bearing the word 'Oxonium,' with the arms of the University on the base, on the steps of which are seated two angels. The sinister side is similarly arranged with the arms of Cambridge University and those of King's, Christ's or St. John's, Trinity, and Peterhouse. Below are the arms of Sir Henry Savile between two small bird's-eye plans of Eton College and what is probably intended for King's.

2. Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni in Iulianum inuectiuæ duæ. Cum Scholiis Græcis nunc primùm editis, & ejusdem Authoris nonnullis aliis quorum syllabum sequens Pag. continet. Omnia, ex Bibliothecâ Clarissimi viri D. Henrici Savilii, Edidit R. Montagu. *Etonæ, in Collegio Regali, Excudebat Ioannes Norton, in Græcis, &c. Regius Typographus.* 1610. 4°.
[Dedicated by Richard Montagu to Richard [Bancroft], Archbp. of Canterbury].
3. Ioannis metropolitani Euchaitensis Versus Iambici in principalium festorum pictas in tabulis historias atq; alia varia compositi; Nunc primùm in lucem editi cura Matthaei Busti Etonensis. [Device.] *Etonae*, [as in No. 2.] 1610. 4°. [Dedicated to Archbp. Bancroft.]
4. Χενοφῶντος Κύρου παιδείας βιβλία ή. Xenophontis de Cyri Institutione libri octo. [Device.] *Etonæ, Excusum in Collegio Regali.* 1613. 4°.
5. Γρεγορίου Ναζανζηνοῦ τοῦ θεολόγου λόγος εἰς τὰ θεοφάνια εἴτ' οὖν γενέθλια τοῦ σωτῆρος. [Printer's device with initials 'M. B.'] *Etonae Excusum in Collegio Regali Anno* cIↃ IↃc xv. 8°.
6. Διονυσίου οἰκουμένης περιήγησις. [Device.] *Etonæ, in Collegio Regali in usum Scholæ Etonens.* n.d. 8°.

Nos. 5 and 6 are printed entirely in a small fount which had previously been used for marginal and other notes, and it may be noted that, in common with No. 4, they bear no printer's name.

Sir H. Savile's *silver letter* was presented by him to the University of Oxford, and we know of no further printing at Eton for more than a century.

FICTITIOUS OR SUSPICIOUS BOOKS: SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The next item with which we have to deal undoubtedly bears a fictitious imprint; but must be described, in order to avoid misapprehension. We will also take this opportunity of disposing of a few other suspicious matters, as far as regards the seventeenth century, before proceeding with our chronological arrangement.

1. Newes from Ipswich: Discovering certaine late detestable practises of some domineering Lordly Prelates. . . . *Printed at Ipswich.* 4°. 6 leaves. [Dated at the end.] 'From Ipswich, November, 12. Thine in the Lord, Matthew White.'

This is attributed to the celebrated William Prynne, and its probable date is 1636.

2. A Choak-Peare for the Parliament. . . . *Printed at Colechester, in the Year* 1648. 4°. 8 pp.

On the title-page are printed some verses headed 'The People's thanks to the Parliament,' finishing thus:—

Those cursed Traytors that would kill their King,
Unto a hanging we will quickly bring.

3. The Kentish fayre, or the Parliament sold to their best worth. . . . *Printed at Rochester, and are to be sold, to all those that dare buy them.* 1648. 4°. 8 pp.

A copy of each of the above is in the Bodleian Library. The first I regard as a fictitious imprint, and the others are more than suspicious, although they are all three treated as genuine by Archdeacon Cotton in his *Typographical Gazetteer*. The same writer also gives under CHESTER the bare date 1656, without quoting any authority for the statement. The existence of a printing-press in the city of

Chester at this date is extremely unlikely; Cromwell, notwithstanding Milton's *Areopagitica* of 1644, was no more in favour of the freedom of the press than were his royal predecessors.

Archdeacon Cotton is entitled to every consideration as pioneer in the field as regards provincial printing for the period we are now entering upon; but I feel bound to record that he is by no means a reliable authority, especially in the second series of his *Gazetteer*, and I give as a specimen the following quotation: '*Kingston* is the name of twelve or more parishes in England. I do not know at which of them *J. Boy's Commentary on the* 150*th Psalm*, 4°, 1615, was printed.' It should read J. Boys', and the book in question was printed in London by Felix Kyngston!

If therefore in our subsequent chronological arrangement an earlier date given by Cotton is ignored, it may be taken to have been disproved. The same remark will apply to Power's *Handy Book about books.*

XVII.—Newcastle, 1639

When, in the spring of the year 1639, King Charles I. marched his army to the north against his Scottish subjects, he established his head-quarters at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Having in his march reached the city of York, the King found the services of a printer greatly needed. Accordingly we find the Lord-General of the army, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, writing to Sir Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, under date of April 20, 'His Majesty would have you to send down a printer with a press, to set out His Majesty's daily commands for his Court or Army, and that to be

done by more than ordinary diligence, the want being daily found so great. I conceive a waggon by land the surer way, to change horses as often as they will, by express warrant to take up teams daily.'[1]

On his way from York to Newcastle the King spent Sunday, May 5, in Durham, and attended divine service in the Cathedral, when Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham, preached before his Majesty a sermon, which was afterwards printed at the newly arrived Royal press with the following title:—

1. A Sermon preached before the King's Most Excellent Majestie, in the Cathedral Church of Durham, upon Sunday, being the fifth day of May, 1639, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Lord Bishop of Duresme. Published by His Majesty's speciall command. *Imprinted at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie, and by the Assignees of John Bill*, 1639.

Another production of the Royal press at Newcastle is:—

2. Lawes and Ordinances of Warre, for the better Government of His Majesties Army Royall, in the present Expedition in the Northern parts, and safety of the Kingdome, under the conduct of his Excellence, the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Arundell and Surrey, Earl Marshall of England, &c., and General of His Majesties Forces. *Imprinted at Newcastle by Robert Barker.* . . . 1639.

It is also stated that certain News-sheets were issued from the Royal press at Newcastle; and from the *Calendar of State Papers* it appears that on Sunday, May 12, Edward Norgate, in attendance on the King at Newcastle 'made ready for the King's hand a proclamation for the importation of butter, His Majesty now understanding that it much concerns the service that good quantities of butter

[1] *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1639, *p.* 65.

should be brought into the northern ports for the victualling of the Army in the North.' The announcement to that effect 'is now printing'; and 'so are also four hundred of the former proclamation of pardon to the Scots.'

Two proclamations printed by Barker at Newcastle are extant in the Record Office, and they are doubtless identical with those mentioned by Norgate. They were 'Given at Our Court at Newcastle' respectively on the 'ninth' and 'fourteenth of May.'

Actual war was not entered upon, Articles of Pacification being concluded at Berwick, June 17, and signed the following day. Edward Norgate, under date June 19, writes: 'All parties are pleased, and our people fly hence homewards like a broken-up school.' The King and his Court, however, remained in the north till the end of July. Whether Barker flew homewards in June or remained with the Court is uncertain.

III*b*.—York, 1642

During the Great Civil War printing-presses were at work in several different centres from time to time; but it is not in all cases possible to point to any particular production bearing the imprint of the place where collateral evidence indicates the presence of a printing-press. The idea of a printer, with his plant, actually accompanying the army he was serving is untenable, and there is no room for doubt that he sojourned for the time in some adjacent centre, within more or less convenient communication.

The earliest case in point as regards the Civil War is that of Robert Barker, the King's Printer. We learn from the late Mr. Robert Davies' *Memoir*

of the York Press, that King Charles I. 'made his entry into York on Saturday the 18th of March, 1641-2,' and that 'the King's printing-press was set up in one of the apartments of the house previously occupied by Sir Henry Jenkins, situated within the quadrangle of Saint William's College, and at so short a distance from the royal residence, as to admit of quick and unobserved communication between the King and his printer.'

The first production of the Royal press at York appears to have been :—

1. His Majesties Declaration to both Houses of Parliament (which he likewise recommends to the consideration of all his loving subjects), in answer to that presented to him at Newmarket the ninth of March, 1641. *Yorke: Printed by Robert Barker, printer to the King's most excellent Majestie, and by the assignes of John Bill.* 1642. Small 4to, pp. 20.

The date of imprint '1642' and the fact that there is an edition extant from Barker's press bearing a London imprint go to show that the printer did not actually accompany his royal master when the Court was transferred to the city of York.

Mr. Davies quotes the titles of thirty-nine pieces from the Royal press at York, the last of which is :—

39. His Majesties Instructions to his Commissioners of Array for the several counties of England and the principality of Wales. . . . Dated at our Court at Nottingham, 29th August, 1642. *Yorke: Printed by Robert Barker, printer to the King's most excellent Majestie*, 1642. Small 4to, pp. 7. [A copy in the British Museum.]

Here again we find that Barker did not accompany his royal master, who departed from York on Tuesday the 16th of August. 'On Thursday the 1st of September,' says Mr. Davies, 'his Majesty sent orders that his printer and his press should attend him at Nottingham.'

Before the departure of the King's Printer we have evidence of another Royalist press at work in York, possibly provided beforehand in view of Barker being required to attend upon the King. The printer was Stephen Bulkley, and the earliest producible issue from his press is:—

> A Letter sent to Master Speaker from the Knights, Esquires, Gentry, and Freeholders of the county of Lincoln for the presenting of their petition to the Honourable House of Commons, now in Parliament assembled. *Printed at York by Stephen Bulkley for Marke Foster, July 28th,* 1642. Broadside. [A copy in the British Museum.]

Bulkley, however, is said to have previously reprinted *Sir Benjamin Rudyard's speech in the House of Commons on the* 15*th of July . . . printed at London on the* 17*th of July for R. Thrale.*

Mr. Davies enumerates twenty-seven productions of Bulkley's York press, the last of which is:—

> 27. A Sermon preached in the Metropoliticall Church of York upon the 19. day of May, being the fourth Sunday after Easter last, by William Ranson, Vicar of Barton upon Humber, before his Excellencie the Marques of Newcastle, Lord Generall, &c. And published by his speciall command. *Printed at York by Stephen Bulkley.* 1644. 4to. pp. 32.

To this list may be added, from a copy in the Bodleian Library,

> A letter from the Marques of Argile and Sir William Armyn . . . to Sir Thomas Glemham, dated at Barwicke, January 20. With the Answer of Sir Thomas Glemham . . . dated at Newcastle, January 23. *Printed at York by Stephen Bulkley.* 1643. 4to. 8 pp.

Soon after the issue of Ranson's sermon followed the battle of Marston Moor, when the city of York fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians, and Bulkley's occupation was gone, although he seems

to have remained in York for two years. We shall have to speak of him later on at Newcastle.

Our next York printer is one Thomas Broad, employed by the dominant Puritan party. Mr. Davies quotes fifteen titles from Broad's press down to 1650, the first and last of which are :—

1. Brittains Remembrancer; or the Nationall Covenant, as it was laid out in a Sermon preached in the Minster at Yorke. . . . By John Shaw, preacher of God's Word. . . . *York, printed by Tho. Broad, dwelling at Mistris Rogers house in Stonegate, over against the Starre.* 1644. Small 4to. 16 leaves.

15. Divine Meditations grounded upon severall texts of Sacred Scripture. . . . By E. L. [Edward Llewellin], Minister of the Gospell, sometimes student of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. *York: Printed by Tho: Broad, and are to be sold at his shop near Common Hall Gates.* 1650. Small 4to.

Mr. Davies had (1868) not seen the name of Thomas Broad in any imprint of later date than 1650; but he gives the titles of two tracts published, and perhaps printed, at York in 1653 and 1659, to which may be added the original of the following reprint in the Bodleian Library :—

A Letter and Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry of the County of York, to his Excellency the Lord Generall Monck. *Printed at York, and re-printed at London for John Starkey*, 1659. Broadside.

From 1660 to 1667 we find Alice Broad (presumably the widow of Thomas); and from 1662 to 1680, Stephen Bulkley (returned from Newcastle). The press was now firmly planted in the northern capital, and special provision was made for its continuance in Acts of Parliament for the regulation of the press, both in 1649 and 1662.

Mr. Davies' *Memoir of the York Press* is carried on so as to include its most celebrated as well as most eccentric printer, Thomas Gent, and all those printers

who had been in business during his lifetime. Gent died May 19, 1778, in his eighty-seventh year.

Before leaving the subject of the York press we will only stop to remark that, although earlier claims have been made, Mr. Davies is content to tell us that 'the first weekly number of the earliest newspaper that was published at York' was from the press of Grace White, and was entitled the *York Mercury: or General View of the Affairs of Europe.* Numb. 1. Vol. 1. Monday, Feb. 23, 1718.

VII*b*.—Bristol, 1643-5

What Robert Barker's movements may have been, after he was summoned to attend the King at Nottingham, seem hardly ascertainable. The King was at Nottingham for three weeks from August 23, 1642, and in the latter part of September and beginning of October his Court was at Shrewsbury; but Barker did not issue, as far as we know, anything bearing the imprint of either place. A *Proclamation for the Adjournment of part of Michaelmasse Term, Given at Our Court at Shrewesbury, the fourth day of October*, bears Barker's London imprint; but it must be noted that, even while he was himself at York, his office in London was still kept going. And if John Taylor, the water-poet, is to be believed, there was about this time a press at work at Shrewsbury. Taylor in 1643 purports to have intercepted *A Letter sent to London from a Spie at Oxford*, in which is the following passage: 'I assure you the Printing Presses at *Yorke*, *Shrewsbury*, and now at *Oxford*, have done our cause a world of mischiefe.'

Whether Barker found his way to London or remained in attendance on the King when moving

from place to place, he would certainly not be required with the Court at Oxford, where the services of the University printer were called in, and we subsequently find Barker and his press at Bristol.

As regards Bristol, Archdeacon Cotton has stated that 'The press was certainly at work in the year 1642'; but he gives no authority, and was perhaps misled by the date of Rich. Towgood's Sermon, Jan. 17, 1642. That author, however, in his Preface says, 'The Presse being now brought to Bristoll hath given opportunity to some, to presse me for publishing these notes,' a remark that might well apply to the advent of the Press at some considerable distance of time after the actual preaching of the sermon.

This Press was doubtless that of Robert Barker, and its advent could not be earlier than the capture of Bristol for the King on August 2, 1643. The productions of this Bristol press were all on the Royalist side, and, as far as yet ascertained, were as follows:—

1. Disloyalty of language Questioned and Censured. Or, a sermon Preached . . . by Rich. Towgood B.D. one of His Majesties Chaplains, and Vicar of Saint Nicholas Church in Bristoll. Ian. 17. 1642. . . . *Bristoll, Printed for Rich. Harsell, and are to be sold by him in Bristoll*, 1643. Sm. 8° [A copy in Trin. Coll. Dublin.]
2. The association, agreement, and protestation of the Covnties of Cornwall, and Devon. January 5. 1643. *Bristoll, Printed by Robert Barker and John Bill, Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty*: M DC. XLIII. 4° [A copy in the Bodleian Library.]
3. The copy of a Letter from Colonell Francis Anderson to Sir Thomas Glemham, January 20. 1643. Touching the Invasion of Scotland . . . 4°. [Imprint as No. 2. A copy in the Bodl. Libr. imperf.]
4. Certain observations Vpon the New League or Covenant. . . . 4°. [Imprint as No. 1. A copy in the Bodl. Libr.] Imprimatur Tho: Bristol. Feb. 20. 1643.

5. Clero-laicum Condimentum. Or, a sermon preached . . . in Saint Nicholas Church in Bristoll, Aprill 16. An. D. 1644. By Richard Standfast . . . *Bristoll, Printed for Thomas Thomas, and are to be sold at his Shop in Broad-street*, 1644. 4°. [A copy in the Bodl. Libr.]
6. His Majesties Most earnest and sincere desire for Peace. Expressed in two most gracious Messages . . . July 4. 1644. And . . . September 8. 1644. Since the Victory over the Earle of Essex. 4°. [Imprint as No. 2.] M DC. XLIIII. [A copy in the Bodl. Libr.]
7. Mercurius Hibernicus: or, a discourse of the late insurrection in Ireland . . . *Printed at Bristoll*, 1644. 4°. [A copy in the Bodl. Libr.]
8. The Schedule. In this Schedule is contained the Excise, set and to be set upon Several Commodities, . . . [Imprint as No. 2.] M DC. XLIIII. 4°. [A copy in the Bodl. Libr.]
9. Newes from The King's Bath Reporting nothing but an Honest means whereby to establish an happy and much desired Peace . . . *Bristoll, Printed at the Author's Charge.* 1645. 4°. [A poem in seven songs by R. P. A copy in the Bodl. Libr.]
10. A Letter from the Earl of Essex to His Highnesse Prince Rupert, concerning the putting to death of Souldiers come out of Ireland taken Prisoners. With His Highnesse Answer thereunto. [Imprint as No. 2.] M DC. XLV 4°. [A copy in the Library of Lord Robartes.]

After the city of Bristol fell into the hands of the Parliament Barker found his way to London, and perhaps not willingly, for we subsequently find him a prisoner in the King's Bench for debt, where he soon afterwards died, being buried January 12, 1645-46. The faithful adherents of King Charles I. were truly unfortunate in their loyalty.

XVIII.—EXETER, 1645

Our next Civil War press is one established at Exeter, from which issued :—

Good thoughts in bad times, Consisting of Personall Meditations. Scripture Observations. Historicall Applications. Mixt Contemplations. By Thomas Fuller . . . *Exeter, Printed for Thomas Hunt*, 1645. Sm. 12mo. [A copy in the Bodleian Library. Dedicated to Lady Dalkeith.]

Thomas Hunt appears to have been a bookseller and pŭblisher and not a printer; but that the book was actually printed at Exeter there is no room for doubt, for the author in his dedication speaks of it as the 'First Fruits of Exeter Presse.'

What other fruits this Exeter press may have produced, and who was the printer? require investigation. A sermon preached in Exeter by Thomas Fuller, B.D., entitled, 'Feare of Losing the Old Light,' bears *London, Printed by T. H.* . . . 1646. Also one of the two copies of Robert Herrick's *Hesperides*, 1648, in the British Museum, states that the poems are to be sold by 'Tho. Hunt, Bookseller in Exon,' in addition to the mention of John Williams and Francis Eglesfield as the London publishers. And Messrs. Boase and Courtney, in their *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, II. 839, quote the following: 'Practicall law controlling and countermanding the Common law and the sword of war and the sword of justice . . . [by E. Anthony?]. *Printed at Exeter* 1648.'

XIX.—FINSBURY 1646-59

Dangerous errors in Several late printed Bibles to the great scandal, and corruption of sound and true Religion. Discovered by William Kilburne Gent . . . *Printed at Finsbury Anno* 1659. 4to. [A copy in the Bodleian Library.]

The author of this tract complains that during the Civil War, through the absence of the King's Printers, and cessation of Bible-Printing at London, many erroneous English Bibles were printed in, and imported from, Holland, which by the late Assembly of Divines, were reported to Parliament in 1643, and condemned to the fire. The said Assembly, by direction of Parliament, then proposed the Bible printing to several Stationers of London,

who refused; upon which it was commended to *Mr. William Bentley*, Printer in *Finsbury*, and his partners, who printed several Bibles in 8° and 12° in the years 1646, 1648, 1651, etc. The author goes on to complain that Bentley has been unjustly obstructed by *Mr. Hills* and *Mr. Field*, who have endeavoured to monopolise the sole printing of Bibles since the latter end of 1655.

Copies of Bentley's Bibles of 1646 and 1648 are in the Bodleian Library; but the imprint used is *London, Printed by William Bentley*. In an Ordinance of Parliament, however, made in 1649 special provision is made for the press in the city of York, and for the 'printing-press now used in Finsbury' in addition to those of London and the two Universities.

XVII*b*.—Newcastle and Gateshead, 1646-61

When King Charles I. was again in Newcastle in 1646, although he was practically a prisoner in the hands of the Scottish army, his printer, Stephen Bulkley, was allowed to set up a press there, from which issued:—

1. A message from his majestie, to the Speaker of the House of Peeres, Pro Tempore; To be Communicated to the Lords and Commons in the Parliament Assembled at Westminster. And to the Commissioners from the Parliament of Scotland. *Newcastle, Printed by Stephen Bulkley, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty*, 1646. [Reprinted in Collectanea Curiosa, 1892.]
2. An answer sent to the Ecclesiasticall Assembly at London. By the reverend, noble, and learned Man, John Deodate, the famous Professour of Divinity, and most vigilant Pastour of Genevah. *Newcastle, Printed by Stephen Bulkley*. 1647[1]. 4to. [A copy in the Bodleian Library.]

[1] A copy of a spurious edition of this tract is in the Bodleian Library entitled:—'The Kings possessions: Written by His Majesties own Hand; annexed by way of Notes, to a Letter sent to the Ecclesiasticall Assembly at London: In Answer to a Letter sent from them. *Newcastle: Printed by Stephen Bulkley, Printer to the Kings Majesty*, 1647. 4to.'

3. Chorographia, or a Survey of Newcastle upon Tine. . . . *Newcastle, Printed by S. B.* 1649. 4to.
4. The Faithfull Depository of Sound Doctrine and Ancient Truths. . . . By R. J[enison]. Dr. D. *Newcastle, Printed by S. B.* 1649. 4to.
5. A declaration of the Army in England upon their march into Scotland, signed in the name . . . of . . . the Lord General Cromwell, and his Councill of Officers, by John Rushworth, secretary.
6. Englands deliverer the Lord of Hosts her strong God . . . upon the thankesgiving for that late memorable victory at Dunbar in Scotland, Sept. 3, 1650. . . . By Joh. Fenwicke Senr. Master of the Hospital of Sherburn House near Durham. *Newcastle, Printed for S.B.* 1651. 4to.
7. The pourtraiture of the primitive saints in their actings and sufferings according to St. Pauls Canon and Catalogue, Heb. xi. By J. S. Presb. Angl. *Newcastle, printed by S. B.* 1652.

After this Bulkley seems to have removed to Gateshead, and the late Mr. J. Hodgson Hinde in *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. vi, 1865, gives a list of seven issues from Bulkley's Gateshead press, to which we will add :—

8. Vota non bella. Newcastle's Heartie Gratulation to her Sacred Soveraign King Charles the Second, on his now-Glorious Restauration to his Birth-right-Power. By Ralph Astell, M.A. *Gateshead, Printed by Stephen Bulkley*, 1660. 4to. [A copy in the Bodleian Library.]

This makes fifteen issues by Bulkley in Newcastle and Gateshead, and we now find him returning to Newcastle and issuing :—

16. The loyall subject. Treating of Magistracy, Ministery, Religion, &c. chiefly set forth . . . to inform all those weake, unstable Spirits, and devided members of this distracted Church and State, of their duty . . . to God and their King. . . . Composed in the Yeare, 1658. Per R. Thomson, Pacis & Veritatis Amatorem. *Newcastle, Printed by Stephen Bulkley.* 1660. 4to.

17. The Bishop's Appeale. Or, an Addresse to the Brethren of the Presbyteriall Judgement. . . . *Newcastle, printed by Stephen Bulkley.* 1661. 4to. [Dedicated to the Archbp. of York by Ri. Hooke.]

Bulkley now removed his press to York, and we have no further record of printing in Newcastle till John White, son of the York printer of the same name, established himself here in 1708.

In the early part of 1647 the relations between the Army and the Parliament were somewhat strained, certain leading spirits in the former being styled 'the Agitators of the Army.' Denzil, Lord Holles, in his *Memoirs* published in 1699, speaking of this period, describes the Army as 'countenancing and publishing seditious pamphlets, for which they had a press which followed the Army.'

From *The Clarke Papers*, edited by C. H. Firth for the Camden Society, 1891, we glean that an anonymous writer, dating from Walden, May 4, 1647, gives the following advice, 'Keepe a partie of able penn men at Oxford and the Army, where their presses be imployed to satisfie and undeceive the people.' And in another anonymous 'Letter to the Agitators,' May 18th, 1647, is the following passage, 'I would you would tell that the Printer is taken and undone, and if it be not thought on to have a Presse in the Army wee are undone. Heere is one perfect and workmen: Lett him therefore see what will be done amongst the Officers concerning itt.'

Mr. Firth says 'The printer of these pamphlets seems to have been a certain John Harris, who himself wrote several pamphlets under the name of Sirrahniho.' Harris, in partnership with H. Hills, certainly printed for the Army in Oxford, and in

one instance (quoted by Mr. Firth) at a very distinct address, 'in Pennifarthing Street'; but there is nothing extant bearing any other provincial imprint from 'a press which followed the Army.'

XX.—Chester, 1688

In 1662 an Act of Parliament was passed, which restricted the exercise of the art of printing to London, the two Universities, and the city of York; but the freedom of the press was now rapidly approaching, and in spite of a renewal in 1685 of the Act of 1662, we find a Chester Herald bold enough to print and publish there, in defiance of the London College of Arms, a goodly folio volume entitled:—

> The Academy of Armory, or, a Storehouse of Armory and Blazon. Containing the several variety of Created Beings, and how born in Coats of Arms, both Foreign and Domestick. With the Instruments used in all Trades and Sciences, together with their Terms of Art. Also the Etymologies, Definitions, and Historical Observations on the same, Explicated and Explained according to our Modern Language. . . . By Randle Holme, of the City of Chester, Gentleman Sewer in Extraordinary to his late Majesty King Charles 2. And sometimes Deputy of the Kings of Arms. * *Chester, Printed for the Author*, MDCLXXXVIII.

The printer of this book is doubtless identical with one 'T. Tillier, Typog.,' who addresses certain doggrel rhymes to the author. In return for this compliment, Randle Holme gives his printer the following coat, 'He beareth a Talaria or Mercuries shooe Sable, Winged Argent, in a Field Azure, by the name of Tillier.'

In the Bodleian Library is a single leaf in folio entitled :—

An account of a late Horrid and Bloody Massacre in Ireland of several Thousands of Protestants; Procur'd and carry'd on by the L. Tyrconnel and His Adherents. *London: Printed for T. Tilliar*, M.DC.LXXXVIII.

XVIII*b*.—EXETER, 1688-89

On the occasion of the Revolution we again find a press at work in Exeter, from which issued :—

1. The speech of the Prince of Orange, to some principle gentlemen of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, on their coming to joyn his Highness at Exeter the 15th of Nov. 1688. *Exeter, Printed by J. B.* 1688. Broadside.
2. A Form of Prayer, &c. [For the Prince and Princess of Orange.] Translated from the Dutch. *Exeter, Printed by J. B.* 1688. 4to.
3. The General Association of the Gentlemen of Devon, to his Highness the Prince of Orange. *Exon: Printed in the Year*, 1689. Broadside.
4. The Prince of Oranges Speech to the Lords, &c. concerned with him. *Printed at Exeter*, MDCLXXXIX. 1 leaf, folio.

A copy of each is in the Bodleian Library.

FIRST ENGLISH PROVINCIAL NEWSPAPER

This brings us to the discussion of the much controverted point as to which was the first provincial newspaper printed in England.

Twenty numbers of *The Oxford Gazette* were printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University, from November 1665; but this cannot be considered a provincial newspaper in the proper sense of the term, as it was 'Published by Authority,' *i.e.* to all intents and purposes it was a Government publication, started at Oxford because the Court was, for the time, transferred there on account of the Plague. No. 22 was printed in London, and after

No. 23 the title was altered to *The London Gazette*, under which title it still survives.

A claim has been put forward, on behalf of the city of Worcester, that some kind of news was printed there so early as 1690[1]; but the earliest producible Worcester newspaper is *The Worcester Post-Man*, started in 1709 by Stephen Bryan, who was not out of his apprenticeship in London till 1706, in which year, on June 3, he took up his freedom. In support of the date 'about 1690' an anonymous Worcester historian of 1829 is obliged to rest his case upon the following: 'It is, however, doubtful in what order of succession, or in what manner these publications were first issued. In June 1709 they appear to have assumed a regular form.'

Another claim has been much persisted in on behalf of Stamford, that a newspaper, called *The Stamford Mercury*, was started there in 1695. The earliest number of *The Stamford Mercury* extant appears to be that for Thursday, January 5, $171\frac{5}{6}$, being the commencement of vol. vii. In *Notes and Queries*, 5*th Series*, vol. ix. p. 215, Mr. Jos. Phillips quotes several other early issues of *The Stamford Mercury*, and thoroughly establishes his point that it was published in half-yearly volumes, and was not started till January $171\frac{2}{3}$.

Having disposed of the claims of Worcester and Stamford we have now to consider what place is really entitled to claim the honour of having produced the first English Provincial Newspaper, and this I think can be satisfactorily settled.

In 1701 Francis Burges started in business as a printer in Norwich. In 1706 writing to Browne

[1] In 1690 the exercise of the art of printing was still confined by Act of Parliament to London, the two Universities, and York.

Willis, the Bucks antiquary, we find Thomas Tanner, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, under date August 1, stating that 'The Norwich Newspapers are the principal support of our poor printer here, by which with the Advertisements he clears near 50s. every week, selling vast numbers to the country people. As far as I can learn this Burgess first began here the printing news out of London, since I have seen the *Bristol Postman*, and I am told they print also a weekly paper at Exeter.'[1] Among Bagford's papers in the British Museum (Harl. 5958. 145.) is Numb. 348 of *The Norwich Post: to be published weekly: Containing An Account of the most Remarkable Transactions both Foreign and Domestick. From Saturday, April* 24 *to Saturday, May* 1, 1708. *Norwich, Printed by E. Burges, near the Red-Well.* 1708.

The printer of this was Elizabeth Burges, widow of Francis, who had died in 1706 at the early age of thirty. A computation of weekly numbers, back from this No. 348, gives the date of No. 1 as early in September 1701.

Bishop Tanner therefore is undoubtedly right, for if Worcester had started a Newspaper in 1690, or Stamford in 1695, the bishop's remark, 'as far as I can learn,' showing that he had made inquiry, must have brought some reply, supposing hewas mistaken. *The Bristol Post-Boy* (not *Postman*, a pardonable error) was started by William Bonny in November 1702.

From the time of Henry VIII., Royal Proclamations, Decrees of Star Chamber, the powers given to the London Company of Stationers, and (under the Long Parliament) the appointment of Licensers

[1] Bodl. Libr. B.W. MSS. 4° xxxvii. 259.

of the Press, placed such great restrictions upon the exercise of the art of printing, that it is only by counting certain privileged and private presses, we are enabled to enumerate twenty centres of Provincial printing down to the practical emancipation of the art in 1695. In 1662 an Act of Parliament was passed restricting its exercise to London, the two Universities, and York. This Act continued in force till 1679, was renewed in 1685, and finally expired in 1695, notwithstanding the efforts of the interested monopolists to keep the press in fetters.

The History of the Provincial Press has yet to be written, and the following chronological arrangement must only be taken as an approximate summary of the spread of the art of printing, and as the result of the individual researches (with the help of friends) of the present writer, who knows perfectly well that in many cases his dates may be improved upon by those locally interested.

1695. BRISTOL.—An essay on the state of England, in Relation to its Trade, its Poor, and its Taxes, for carrying on the present War against France. By John Cary, Merchant in Bristoll. *Bristoll: Printed by W. Bonny . . . Novem.* 1695. 8°. [Bodl.]

1696. PLYMOUTH.—The first printing-press in Plymouth was set up in 1696 by Mr. D. Jourdaine. [*History of Plymouth*, by R. N. Worth.]

1696. SHREWSBURY.—Blodeugerdd-Llyfr Carolau, etc. Gan Thos. Jones. *Mwythig.* 1696. [*Cambrian Bibliography.* By Rev. W. Rowlands, 1869.]

Thomas Jones, born near Corwen in 1647, was originally a tailor in London. He printed many Welsh books at Shrewsbury, about 1696-1713.

1698. EXETER.—Bread for the Poor: or, a Method shewing how the Poor may be maintained . . . *Exeter, Printed by Samuel Darker.* . . . 1698. 4°. (By R. D.) [Bodl.].

1701. NORWICH.—Some observations on the use and original of the noble Art and Mystery of Printing. By *F. Burges. Norwich*, Sept. 27, 1701. (Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, 1809, vol. iii. p. 154.)

Burges had previously started his newspaper, *The Norwich Post.*

1704. WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE. — 'John Exell carried on the business of a printer here in the year 1704.' [Cotton.]

A portion of Psalms, selected from the Rev. James Merrick's new version for the Use of the Church of Wandsworth. *Wotton-under-edge: Printed by Richard Dyde.* M DCC LXXX. 16mo. [Bodl.]

1708. GOSPORT. — Churchwarden's Accounts. [Cotton.]

A Trip to Portsmouth: or, the wife's election. A new farce of one act. . . . By Essex Waller, Gent. *Gosport: Printed and sold by James Philpott, in Middle Street.* 1710. 4°.

1708. NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—Mr. J. Hodgson Hinde, in his paper on Early Printing in Newcastle, *Archæologia Æliana*, 1865, says that John White established a press in Newcastle in 1708. White started the *Newcastle Courant* in 1711, and died Jan. 26, 1769.

1709. WORCESTER.—Stephen Bryan started a newspaper called *The Worcester Post-Man* in June 1709, and printed a sermon preached by E. Chaundler, Nov. 22, in the same year.

1710. GATESHEAD.—The Newcastle Gazette, or Northern Courant. *Printed by J. Saywell.* (Adv. Libr. Edinburgh.)

1710. NOTTINGHAM.—Address presented to Her Majesty by Crew Offley, Esq., accompanied by several Gentlemen

of Cheshire, &c. *Nottingham: Printed by William Ayscough in Woolpack-lane*, 1710. Broadside. [J. P. Earwaker].

The Nottingham Post: being a Faithful Account of all the Publick News. . . . No. 42. July 11-18, 1711. *Nottingham: Printed and Sold by John Collyer.*

1710. STAMFORD.—The Poll (Taken October 16, 1710) for the Election of Knights of the Shire of Rutland. *Printed in St. Martins, Stamford, Lincolnshire*, 1710. 4°. [Bodl.]

The *Stamford Mercury* was started in January, 1712-13. The printers of vol. x. No. 18, Nov. 7, 1717, were Tho. Baily and Will. Thompson.

1711. CHESTER.—Good men need not value evil Treatment; a Sermon at Chester Assizes, Aug. 28, 1711. By John Cowper, Vicar of Middlewich. 8°. *Chester.* (1711.) [Bamburgh Castle Library.]

Two Treatises. . . . by Lawrence Fogg, D.D. and Dean of Chester. *Chester: Printed by E. Ince. . . .* 1712. 8°.

1712. LIVERPOOL.—Hymns Sacred to the Lord's Table, Collected and Methodiz'd. By Charles Owen. *Leverpoole: Printed by S. Terry for Daniel Birchall, . . .* MDCCXII. 8°. Dated from Warrington, May 1, 1712. [A copy in the Bodleian Library.]

The Liverpoole Courant, . . . from Tuesday, July the 15th, to Friday, July 18th. No. 18. *Printed by S. Terry in Dale-street.*

Terry was still in business as a printer in 1720.

1715. SALISBURY.—The Salisbury Postman; or Packet of Intelligence from France, Spain, Portugal, &c, &c. No. 1. Sept. 27, 1715. *Printed by S. Farley at his office adjoining to Mr. Robert Silcocks, on the ditch in Sarum, Anno* 1715. [Caxton Exhibition, 1877.]

Charles Hooton printed in Salisbury in 1729-30.

[*c.* 1715] GREAT MILTON.—A Book of Psalmody, containing some easy instructions for young beginners; to wch is added a select number of Psalm-tunes, Hymns, & Anthems, in 2, 3, & 4 parts. *Collected, printed, taught & sold by Matthew Wilkins of great Milton, near Thame in Oxfordshire.* Obl. 8°. [Bodl.]

1716. BIRMINGHAM.—The earliest specimen of Birmingham printing known to Dr. Cotton was a *Sermon by Rev. J. Southall*, dated 1716.

A loyal oration, &c., composed by James Parkinson, chief master of the Free School of Birmingham, and spoke by his son, Dec. 10, 1716. *Birmingham: Printed and sold by Matthew Unwin, near St. Martin's Church* 1717. A reprint of 50 copies edited, with an introductory notice, by William Bates, B.A. 1884. 4°.

'A newspaper called *The Birmingham Journal*, was published so early as 1732, but its existence was a short one.' [*A century of Birmingham Life* by J. A. Langford.]

1716. BURY ST. EDMUNDS.—Suffolk Mercury or St. Edmund's Bury Post. Monday, Feb. 3, 1717, No. 43. [*Notes and Queries*, v. 127.]

Diverting essays, both Serious and Comical. *Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. Printed and Sold by Thomas Baily and William Thomson, next Door to the Griffin, near the Market-Cross.* [1719.] (Bodl.)

1717. CANTERBURY.—The *Kentish Post*, or *Canterbury News Letter*, was commenced in January, 1717, and published twice a week till July, 1768. The earliest copy known to be in existence is No. DXXX, from Wednesday, March 20 to Saturday, March 23, 1722-3. [*Notes and Queries*, 4th Ser. xi. 358.]

Died, Aug. 20, 1768, Mr. James Abree, printer at Canterbury. [*London Magazine*, p. 501.]

1717, ST. IVES, HUNTS.—St. Ives Post . . . Monday, January 20, 1718. Vol. ii. No. 1. *St. Ives in Huntingdonshire: Printed by J. Fisher*, MDCCXVIII. 4°. [Bodl.].

St. Ives Post Boy: or, the Loyal Packet . . . Monday, June 23, 1718. Vol. i. No. 2. *St. Ives in Huntingdonshire: Printed by R. Raikes.* 4°. [Bodl.].

St. Ives Mercury, 1720, attributed by Dr. Cotton to Cornwall, belongs to St. Ives, Hunts.

1717-18. IPSWICH.—The professed enemy, and the false lover of the Church, a sermon . . . By Joh. Harrison, A.B., Curate of Hadleigh, Suffolk. *Ipswich: Printed Jan. 7*, 1717-18.

The Ipswich Journal, or The Weekly Mercury . . . From Saturday, November 19, to Saturday, November 26, 1720. Numb. 15. *Ipswich: Printed by John Bagnall, in St. Mary Elmes*, 1720. [Brit. Mus.]

John Bagnall was still in business in 1735.

1717. CIRENCESTER.—Cirencester Post: or, Gloucestershire Mercury . . . Monday, March 16, 1719 . . . No. 18. *Cirencester: Printed and Sold by Thomas Hinton, in Pye Corner.* 4°. [Brit. Mus.]

1718. LEEDS.—Vol. 2. Numb. 49. The Leeds Mercury: being The freshest Advices, foreign and domestick, &c. From Tuesday, April 5, to Tuesday, April 12, 1720. *Leeds, Printed and sold by John Hirst, over against Kirkgate-end, &c.* [Caxton Exhibition, 1877.]

John Hirst was still in business in 1730.

1718. TAUNTON.—The Lawfulness of taking Oaths: . . . a Sermon . . . at the Assizes begun at Wells . . . August 19, 1718. By Fr. Squire, M.A., Rector of Exford. *Taunton, Printed by and for W. Norris.* 4°. [Bodl.]

1719. MANCHESTER.—The Manchester Weekly Journal, No. 325, March 15, 1725. *Printed and sold by Roger Adams, at the lower end of Smithy-door.* [Timperley.]

Roger Adams afterwards removed to Chester, where he printed the *Chester Courant*.

1719. LUDLOW.—The Ludlow Postman, 1719, October 9. [*N. and Q.* 3rd Ser. ix. 94.]

The most Important Question, What is Truth . . . in two Sermons . . . By Samuel Jones, A.B. *Ludlow: Printed by William Parks*, 1719-20. [W. H. A.]

William Parks afterwards printed at Hereford and Reading, emigrated to America, died on his return voyage to England, and was buried at Gosport, April 1, 1750.

1719. MILTON-ERNIS, co. Bedford.—Vindiciæ Veræ Pietatis; or Evangelical-Sanctification truly stated . . . by John Hunt, Minister of the Gospel, in Newport Pagnel. *Printed at Milton-Ernis, near Bedford; by U. Robinson.* . . . 1719. 16mo. [Bodl.]

1719. DERBY.—Vol. i. Numb. 8. The Derby Post-Man, or a Collection of the most material Occurrences, Foreign and Domestick; . . . To be continued Weekly. Thursday, January 19, 1720. *Derby: Printed by S. Hodgkinson near St. Warburg's Church.* 4°. [*N. and Q.* 3rd Ser. ix. 164.]

1720. NORTHAMPTON.—Vol. i. No. 1. Northampton Mercury, or the Monday's Post. Being a collection of the most Material occurrences, Foreign & Domestick . . . Monday, May 2, 1720. *Northampton: Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey, near All Saints Church* . . . 4° [Officė copy.]

1721. COVENTRY.—A Ratiocination upon Voting: or Shakespear's Defence against Hopkins, being the Substance of an Argument upon Voting for Members to serve in Parliament. Between W. S. . . . and H. H. *Coventry, Printed by S. Davis for the Authour. Annoq. Dom.* 1721. 8°. [Bodl.]

1741, July 20. The Coventry Mercury, No. 1, published by *Mr. Jopson.* [Timperley.]

1721. HEREFORD.—Pascha, or Dr. Prideaux's vindication of the Rule and Table for finding Easter . . . briefly examined. By a Well-Wisher to the Starry Science . . . *Hereford: Printed by Will. Parks.* (1721.) 8°. [Bodl.].

The Hereford Journal, with the History of the World given gratis. *Hereford: printed by Willoughby Smith, in By-street.* 1739. Sm. folio. 4 pp. Soon discontinued.

1722. GLOUCESTER.[1]—The Gloucester Journal was started in April, 1722, by Robert Raikes and

[1] The young Cobler of Glocester. *Glocester: Printed by T. Cobb.* MDCCXIII. [Bodl.] I consider this a fictitious imprint.

William Dicey, subsequently carried on by Raikes alone, and afterwards by his son Robert, the founder of Sunday-schools. The father died Sept. 7, 1757, and the son April 5, 1811.

1723. READING.—Vol. I. Numb. I. The Reading Mercury, or Weekly Entertainer. Monday July 8, 1723. *Reading: Printed by W. Parks, and D. Kinnier, next Door to the Saracen's-head, in High-street.* 4°. [Nos. 1-8 in the Bodleian Library.]

1724. CHICHESTER.
DONCASTER.
LEICESTER.
WINCHESTER.

In Negus' list of Printing-Houses in the Country, 1724 (reprinted by Timperley), these places are credited with one press each; but I know of no specimen from any one of them so early. In the *Life of Thomas Gent* we read of Thomas Dickenson, employed by Gent in 1726, and that Dickenson 'afterwards wrought at Doncaster with Mr. Ward.'

An Account of tht (*sic*) Tryal, Condemnation of John Flawn . . . This Genuine Confession is only *Printed by M. Unwin, in Leicester.* Folio, single leaf. (1741.) [Brit. Mus.].

The *Leicester Journal*, started by John Gregory, May 12, 1753, is said to have been then *printed* in London. A pedigree of the Gregory family is in *Nichols' Leicestershire*, i. 587.

James Isaac Philpott in 1725 gave 21s. to use the trade of a printer and bookseller in Winchester. [*Early Hampshire printers. By F. A. Edwards*, 1891.] *Philpott* printed a Sermon by William Budworth, A.M., in 1732.

1725. MAIDSTONE.[1]—Maidstone Mercury. No. xxv. May 27, 1725. Monday to Thursday. *Printed by J. Watson in High Street, near the Conduit.*

[1] Cotton gives H. Wilson, printer and bookseller, 1701; but F. Brettonneau's *Life of James II.* was printed in *London for R. Wilson, Bookseller at Maidstone*, 1704.

Maidstone Journal. No. iii. Sept. 29, 1737. *Printed by Jacob Ilive & John Akers* . . . [Maidstone Museum.]

1729. LINCOLN.—Articles of visitation, and enquiry; exhibited to . . . every Parish within the peculiar Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of . . . Lincoln. *Printed for William Wood, Book-Seller, at his Printing-office in the City of Lincoln*, MDCCXXIX. 4°. [Bodl.]

W. Wood was still in business in 1775, and his widow died at Langworth, Sept. 23, 1792, aged 84.

1730. ETON.—Catalogus Alumnorum, e Collegio Regali . . . de Etona in Collegium Regale . . . apud Cantabrigienses Cooptatorum. *Etonæ, Apud Josephum Pote*, M.DCC.XXX. 4°.

Died March 3, 1787, at Eton College, aged 84, *Mr. Joseph Pote.* [Gent. Mag.]

1730, TIVERTON.—Rules for Courts in Tiverton Hospital. [*Bibliotheca Devoniensis*, by James Davidson, 1852.]

1731. BOSTON.—A newspaper, called the *Boston Weekly Journal*, was published in Boston from 1731 to 1739. [P. Thompson's *Collections for Boston*, 1820.]

1731. BATH, BIRMINGHAM, CAMBRIDGE, COLCHESTER and SHERBORNE, all appear to have supplied the *Gentleman's Magazine* with local newspapers in February 1731, as may be gleaned from the woodcut title of that periodical.

1731. KENDAL.—'The first newspaper published here was entitled "The Kendal Courant." It commenced on the 1st of January, 1731, and was printed by Thomas Cotton.' [Further information is given by C. Nicholson in his *Annals of Kendal*, 1861.]

1731. WARRINGTON.—'The father of *Mr. William Eyres* was a *John Eyres*, who in 1731 and

1734 was a printer and stationer in Warrington. [Lectures on the Literary History of Warrington by J. F. Marsh, 1858.] Dr. James Kendrick wrote a series of Articles on *Eyres's Warrington press*, printed in the *Warrington Guardian*, Jan. to March, 1881.

1731. BATH.—To the Fore-Chairman that carried Her Majesty, February ——, 1732. By a gentleman at Bath. *Bath: Printed by Felix Farley, at Shakespear's Head, without West-Gate*, MDCCXXXIII., folio, 9 pp. A poem. [Bodl.]

1731. COLCHESTER.—Several sermons by John Tren from 1733 to 1738 bear the imprint *Colchester: Printed by John Pilborough.*

1731. SHERBORNE.—The *Sherborne Mercury* began in Feb. 1737. *Printed by W. Bettinson and G. Price from London.*

1733. DURHAM.—Durham Cathedral, as it was before the Dissolution of the Monastry . . . *Durham: Printed by J. Ross, for Mrs. Waghorn*, 1733. Sm. 8vo. [Bodl.]

A newspaper, doubtless the *Durham Courant*, was in existence in April 1735. [*Gent. Mag.* 1735 and 1736, p. 492.]

1733. SCARBOROUGH. — '1733. My nephew, *Arthur Clarke*, aforesaid, was sent with materials to furnish a printing-office in Scarborough.' [*Life of Thomas Gent*, p. 182.] In his *History of Kingston-upon-Hull*, 1735, Gent fixes the date as 'about June 16, 1734, in a House in Mr. Bland's Lane, formerly call'd his Cliff.'

1736. FERSFIELD.—The Rev. Francis Blomefield set up a press in his rectory here, employed as printer one Nicholas Hussey, and proceeded to issue, in numbers, his *History of Norfolk*; but died in 1752, leaving it unfinished.

1736. MARLBOROUGH.—'The printing business was carried on in 1736.' [Cotton.]

A letter to the Right Rev. Shute [Barrington] Bp. of Landaff *Marlborough: Printed by E. Harold*, 1774. 8vo.

1736. YEOVIL.—J. Power's *Handy Book about books* gives the bare date 1736.

The Mercy and Truth. Or, a brief account of the dealings of God with David Aboab . . . *London: Printed and Sold* [inter alios] *by R. Goadby, at the Printing Office at Yeovil.* 1748. 8vo. [Bodl.]

1737. SHEFFIELD.—The Perjur'd Lover, or Tragical Adventure of Alexis and Boroina. . . . By a young Gentleman of Sheffield. *Printed at Sheffield by J. Garnet*; pr. 1s. [*Gent. Mag.* Sept. 1737.]

John Garnet printed many Chap-books down to 1753.

1740. HULL.——'Clarke, (Jno. of Grammar School, in Hull) Introduction to the making of Latin. 12mo. 2s. 6d. *Hull, J. Mace*, 1740.' [J. C. Hotten's *Hand-book to Topography* (1863), No. 6268.]

'List of the Subscribers to the Association at York, 6d. *Hull* 1745. [Jos. Wilson's Catalogue. Leedes, 1749, No. 748. (Bodl.)]

John Mace, bookseller of Hull, was a freeman of York,. 1758.

1740. LYNN REGIS, OR KING'S LYNN.—The Curiosity: or, Gentlemen and Ladies Repository. . . . *Lynn: Printed and Sold by W. Garratt.* 1740. 8°. [Bodl.]

William Whittingham, who died April 29, 1797; was a somewhat celebrated Lynn printer.

1740. PONTYPOOL.—Rowlands' *Cambr. Bibliogr.*, under the years 1740-1, gives the titles of six Welsh books, '*Pont-y-pwl: Argraphwyd yn yr Argraph-Wasg Newydd.*' One of the books entered under 1741 is 'Hymnau Duwiol. O Gasgliad Gwyr Eglwysig M. J. ac E. W.' *Argraphwyd ym*

Mhont-y-pool, gan S. Mason; but the book itself appears to be undated.

1740. PRESTON.—The earliest newspaper published in Preston was called *The Preston Journal*, and was printed by W. Smith in Church-street. In 1745 was started a second, *The True British Courant, or Preston Journal.* [*History of Preston*, by Charles Hardwick, 1857.]

1740. TRURO.—'1740. Printing introduced into the town of Truro.' [Timperley.]

Poems on Several Occasions. By Nicholas James. *Truro: Printed by Andrew Brice*, 1742. 16mo. [Bodl.]

1740. WAKEFIELD.—'It possessed a printing-office in 1740.' [Cotton.]

Thomas Kellington, Printer of Wakefield, was a freeman of York in 1758.

The whole Service as performed in the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters, at Wakefield, Dec. 13, 1776. *Wakefield: Printed by Thomas Waller.* 1777. 8°. [Bodl.]

1742. LEWES.—*The Sussex Advertiser* was established in 1745. Until recently (1852) it was the property of the *Lee family*. [M. A. Lower's *Hand-book for Lewes*.] Power gives the bare date 1742.

1744. WOLVERHAMPTON.[1]—The Voyages and adventures of Captain Robert Boyle. Liverpool. Printed by Adam Sadler. *Wolverhampton. Reprinted by Geo. Wilson.* M,DCC,XLIV. 8°. [Bodl.]

The Lama Sabachthany: or Cry of the Son of God. *Wolverhampton, Printed by Mary Wilson.* 1755. Sm. 8°. [Bodl.]

1745. CHELSEA.—'Printing was carried on in 1772.' 'For 1772 read 1745.' [Cotton, pp. 43 and 318.]

[1] The 1724 book by E. Elwall, which Power gives to Wolverhampton, bears a London imprint.

1745. STRATFORD-ON-AVON.—Short remarks on Dr. Perry's analysis made on the Stratford mineral water. By William Baylies, Jun. *Stratford upon Avon: Printed by T. Pasham.* M,DCC,XL,V. [Bodl.]

1746. CARLISLE.—The Genuine Dying Speech of the Reverend Parson Coppock. *Carlisle: Printed by Thomas Harris.* (1746.) 8°. [Bodl.]

This is, however, probably a fictitious imprint, the real printer being *Robert Whitworth* of Manchester.

An 'Essay on human nature' was printed at Carlisle by *J. Harrison* in 1777. [W. H. A.]

1746. RIPPONDEN.—From the imprint of *Tim Bobbin's View of the Lancashire Dialect*, 1746, a Mr. Wilkinson appears to have been then a printer at Ripponden.

1748. GREENWICH.—For our Country. A Sermon . . . by the rev. John Butley. *Greenwich: Printed and published by Tho. Henderson.* MDCCXLVIII. [Bodl.]

1748. ISLINGTON.—Satires written by Mr. Whitehead. *Islington: Printed near the Three Pumps, in the Year* 1748. [Bodl.]

1748. PORTSMOUTH.—Hymns for the Festivals, and other Solemn Occasions, *Portsmouth*, 1748. [D. Sedgwick's fourth catalogue, No. 866. (Bodl.)].

The famous Bull Unigenitus, in English. *Printed by W. Horton*, 1753. [Bodl.]

1748. WALTHAM, Leicestershire.—Musarum Brittanicarum Thesaurus: or, a choice collection of English songs, &c., Sm. obl. 4°. *Waltham, Leicestershire: William East*, 1748. [Caxton Exhibition.]

Several other books of music were issued here by *W. East* down to 1754.

1750. MALTON.—Modest and Candid Reflections on Dr. Middleton's Examination of the Bishop of London's *Use and Intent of Prophecy.* By Thomas Comber, A.B. *Malton: Printed by J[oshua] N[ickson].* M,DCC,L. [Bodl.]

W. H. ALLNUTT.

Equant liu dragons veit qil est abatuz en terre ⁊ si gnerri la femme go
enfanta le madle. ⁊ a la femme sount donez deus eles pur voler en
desert en son lieu ou ele est nurie par un temps ⁊ deus temps ⁊ demi temps
E le serpent enuoia de sa bouche apres la femme une eube ausi come un
flum pur liu rettaire par le flum. Et la terre aida a la femme si ouerist

THE GROTESQUE AND THE HUMOUROUS IN ILLUMINATIONS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

STUDENTS of the illumination and ornamentation of mediæval manuscripts are so accustomed to find the grotesque and humourous view of things represented in the subjects under their eyes, that they are apt to accept its presence as a matter of course without enquiring whence comes this tendency in the book-decoration of the Middle Ages. Why should the margins of devotional books of the fifteenth century, for example, be loaded with incongruous distortions of natural or fabulous forms of life, and why did not the sense of propriety in the possessors of such books revolt at the ill-timed, and even indecent, merriment of the artist? The only answer to be given to this question is that the ornamentation of a manuscript must have been regarded as a work having no connection whatever with the character of the book itself. Its details amused or aroused the admiration of the beholder, who in his amusement or admiration took no thought whether the text was sacred or profane. A tradition of ornamentation had in course of generations been established; and no one, not even, probably, a person of exemplary piety, sustained any shock to his feelings when he performed his devotions from a prayer-book whose margins were made the playground for the antics of monkeys

and bears and impossible monsters, or afforded room for caricatures reflecting upon the ministers of religion.

The natural tendency to the grotesque in ornamentation has made itself conspicuous from very early times. The exaggerations of the first engravers of Greek gems produced the strange monsters or combined animals which are known as *grylli*; and the lines and curves which decorate the early specimens of Greek pottery are not infrequently found to suggest the features of the human face or other living countenance, which only required a touch from the artist's brush to make them real. But not to travel beyond our own province, among the early manuscripts of the Middle Ages we see the opportunities for expression of fanciful humour not left unregarded. It may be nothing more than the blank interior of an initial letter O; but the temptation to clap in eyes and nose and mouth, and thus convert the letter into a full face, was more than the scribe, even though engaged in the copying of a Bible or devotional book or a serious work of one of the Fathers of the Church, could resist. When ornamental initials came into fashion, an almost boundless field was laid open for the exercise of fanciful imagination. The decorators of the early manuscripts of the Merovingian and Visigothic and Lombardic schools, for example, developed a taste for initials formed of animals, birds, fish, and the like; and, in twisting them into the required shapes, no artist who had the smallest sense of humour could fail to give a grotesque turn to his productions. The interlaced ornamentation of the Irish school of illumination of the seventh and eighth centuries suggested the invention of lacertine creatures and birds which are knotted together in grotesque con-

tortions; and the large initial letters which came into fashion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, composed as they are, especially in the manuscripts of England, France, and Flanders, of combinations of animal and vegetable life, afforded ample scope for the exercise of the extravagant fancy of the artist, which produced dragons and monsters, human and half-human figures, reptiles, animals, birds, and all kinds of living forms, fighting, struggling, pursuing or pursued, devouring or devoured, climbing or hiding among the branches of the conventional foliage.

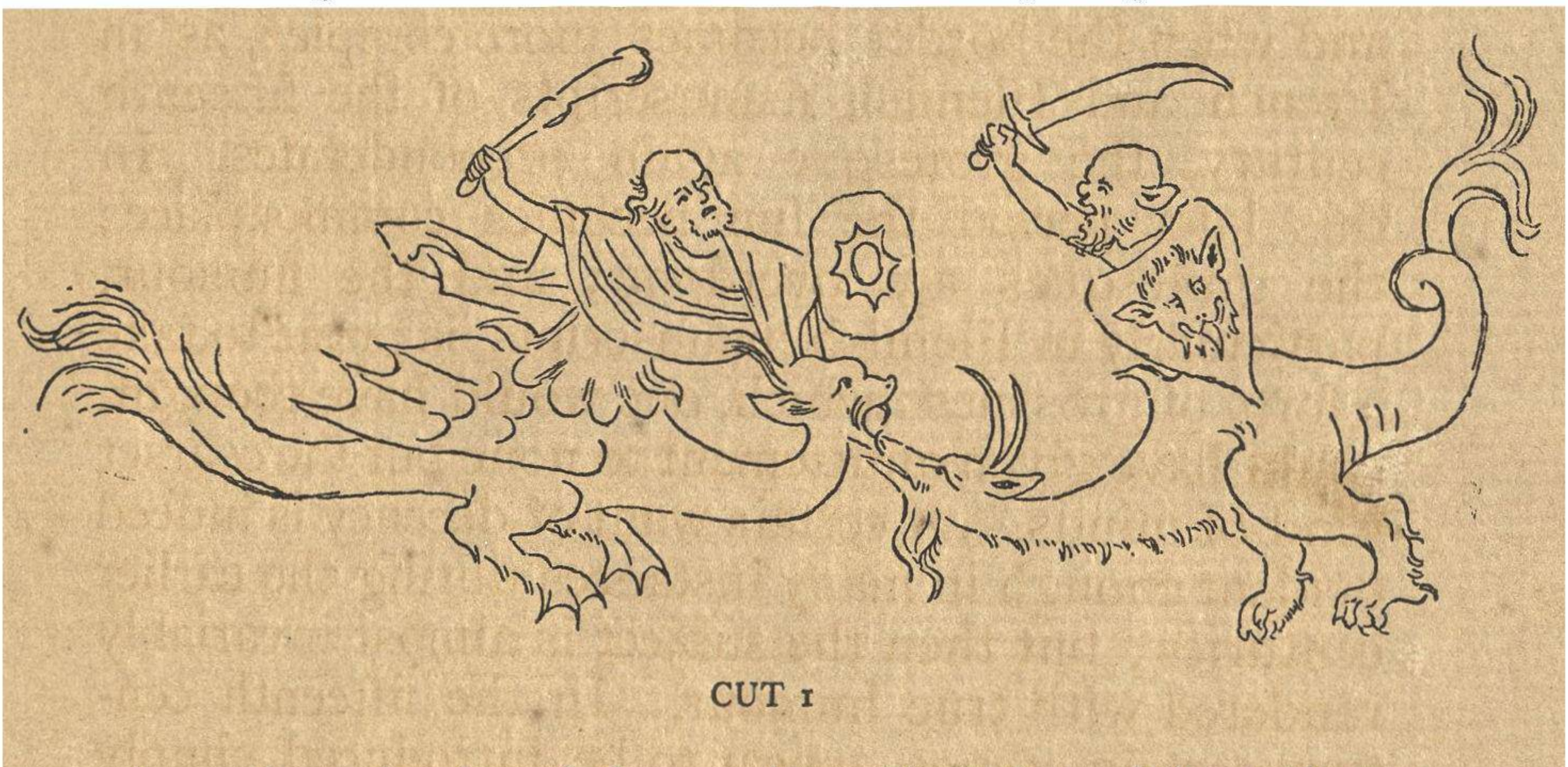
In the earlier ages the grotesque was naturally more prevalent than the humourous. The decorative initial letter was purely fanciful and a mere detail of ornamentation without any story to tell. At a later time, when the miniature took its place by the side of the ornamental initial, it had its own subject to illustrate, and, further, when independent little scenes gradually appeared in the margins, the humourous view of things began to receive full expression. The thirteenth century is especially the period when this later phase is developed. The drooping pendant which is thrown out from the initial, and which is the stock from whence the marginal border gradually developes, seems to invite, by its very formation, the addition of those graceful little figures which now first appear. The little niches which break up the outline of the initial, or the curving finial which terminates the pendant, afford a foothold for some little animal or bird, a hare, or squirrel, or ape, or for some stray human figure, a youth or maiden, a huntsman or a knight. Perhaps a bird perched above in a little niche suggests the presence of an archer below, who poises himself on a branch or tendril, and tries his

skill with his arrows; or if a monkey be employed below in some thoughtful occupation, mimicking the ways of mankind, another will appear overhead to play some trick upon his mate. As the border grows, so does the development of these humourous little scenes progress; and independently the subjects are also detached from their connection with the border and occupy the margins as well. Nor does the artist, in his prosecution of the humourous, forget to add the purely grotesque. Monsters of of all kinds intermingle with forms of actual life; and when the border becomes more complex, as in French and Flemish manuscripts of the fifteenth century, the grotesque again preponderates. In this later period the fun becomes commonplace; the grotesques are overdone; and the humour, particularly in Flemish manuscripts, is prone to take a form of grossness which, one would have thought, could have given amusement to none but the coarser kind of minds. A certain want of decency is indeed evident enough in many instances during the earlier centuries; but then the subject is almost invariably rendered with true humour. In the fifteenth century certain scenes appear to be introduced simply because they are gross, and have very little humour to recommend them.

In a certain sense there is a parallel between the crowded large initial of the twelfth century and the crowded border of the fifteenth century. In both the effort of the artist was chiefly directed to filling the space at his command with as much action as possible, and in both the motive is decorative, not illustrative; the grotesque predominates, and the humourous is often lost sight of. But there is also a wide gulf between them in regard to their art. The drawing of the twelfth century initial is in

almost all cases of a fine, bold character, and the designs are well balanced; in the border of the fifteenth century there is not infrequently a confusion in the design and a striving after showy effect.

Of course, the subjects into the composition of which humour enters are far more amusing than the simply grotesque. Turning over the pages of a manuscript in which the principal decorations are grotesques, we weary somewhat of the interminable and impossible monsters which spring from the



CUT 1

ingenious brain of the mediæval artist, although we give full credit to its fertility. In such instances, however, as are to be seen in manuscripts of the character of Queen Mary's Psalter (*Bibliographica*, i. p. 401), they become works of art from the beauty of the drawing, and as such we admire them and not merely as grotesques. The accompanying drawing (Cut 1) of a combat of two monster men mounted on dragons from this manuscript may be taken as an excellent and finely drawn example of the beginning of the fourteenth century. On the other hand humour appears under many forms

and in many aspects, nor is it dependent for its existence on overstrained exaggeration, nor does it run in a fixed channel. It need never become monotonous. Applied chiefly to subjects of ordinary life, or at least to subjects which are free from the monstrous and impossibly unnatural, every scene has its own particular sense of fun to recommend it.

Perhaps the only important exception to be made to a dividing line between the grotesque and the humourous is that when the Devil is concerned he usually combines the two elements in a degree that is denied to other creations of mediæval fancy. He is always ugly, generally monstrous, and not infrequently a decidedly humourous figure. If we may judge by the effect which the contemplation of the mediæval devil has upon us moderns, it seems as if the enemy of mankind never commanded the respect of the Middle Ages and was never taken seriously. Even when representing Hell with its crowd of tortured figures of the damned, the artist can seldom resist making his devils so ludicrous, grinning a kind of schoolboy delight at the pains they are inflicting, that the place of torment loses half its terrors. Perhaps the artist's humour is here unconscious, perhaps he only intended to make his devils hideous and repulsive; but he makes them so absurdly ugly that we can only laugh at them.

Let us select an example of an Englishman's idea of fiends in the twelfth century from a roll in the Harleian Collection of the British Museum, which contains a series of scenes from the life of St. Guthlac, the hermit of Crowland, drawn in outline with considerable skill (Cut 2). The devils have here got hold of the saint and evidently enjoy the sport as they tumble him through the air, over the gates

CUT 2—FROM THE ROLL OF ST. GUTHLAC

of hell, in a fashion quite unceremonious, suggesting that they are actuated by a malevolent though humourous desire to distress the holy man by showing as much as they dare of his legs. He receives, on safely reaching the earth, a scourge from the hands of the friendly St. Bartholomew; and in the next scene on the roll he is having his revenge on the body of one of his tormentors, who submits to his punishment in abject terror. The devils are here depicted as absurdly ugly as it is well possible to make them; and the same conception of the Evil One runs through all the Middle Ages. A favourite subject with the humourous artist was supplied by the story from the miracles of the Virgin, wherein the guilty couple who have been clapped into the stocks are released by the indulgent intervention of the saint, and their places are taken by the pair of ever grotesque fiends who tempted them; and, needless to add, the famous contest of St. Dunstan with the Devil receives sufficient illustration on the same lines.

The never-ending struggle between the spirit of good and the spirit of evil naturally forms a fertile theme for the artist in all countries and in all periods of the later Middle Ages. In the scene of the Last Judgment, for example, when the trump summons the dead to rise from their resting-places, the ministers of Satan are seen busy at work, claiming their victims as they step from their graves and conducting them gleefully into the jaws of the monster Hell. Occasionally a scramble takes place between an angel and a devil for the possession of a soul. Or, as the angel weighs the soul, always represented as a minute little child, in his balance, a little black fiend will clutch at the scale and try to drag it down, or will thrust one foot into it as a make-weight; but

the angel, in the superiority of power, is content to knock him away, as he would some noxious reptile, with the butt end of his cross or spear.

Even the solemnity of the death-bed does not exempt it from being made an occasion for the display of the same kind of amusement. The soul passes from the body through the mouth and is caught up by an attendant angel to be carried up to Heaven, but not quickly enough to prevent an active demon from seizing it by the feet and attempting to drag it down to Hell; the result being a fight in mid-air, with the foregone conclusion that the angel always wins. Or a regular pitched battle is fought upon the earth between the opposing forces, the dead man lying below in his grave while the little soul stands shivering with fear as it awaits the result of the combat.

The Psalter of Chicksand Priory, of the first half of the fourteenth century, already described (*Bibliographica*, ii. p. 10), has a curious picture of the deaths of Dives and Lazarus. The rich man yields up his soul to be taken possession of by two absurd devils and to be consigned to the jaws of hell, where it is seen pointing to its parched tongue, while a grinning fiend is making ready to drag it down with his tormenting hook. The good Lazarus is attired as a monk, whose soul is received by angels and placed on the knees of our Lord, seated above upon the rainbow. Perhaps there is a latent sarcasm in identifying the poor man with a member of a religious order.

It was necessarily one of the principal duties of devils to annoy the saints. St. John the Evangelist, as he writes his Revelation in the sea-girt isle of Patmos, is almost invariably pestered by a mischievous fiend who creeps up from behind the

rocks and either steals or upsets the ink-pot. The saint's symbolical eagle which generally stands by is too dignified to interfere. Again, St. Genevieve is usually represented in the act of reading a devotional book and carrying aloft a burning taper, which affords material for a struggle between the powers of light and darkness. A devil is seen extinguishing the flame which, however, is straightway rekindled by a watchful angel. Here we give a sketch (Cut 3) of a very pretty representation of the scene from a Book of Hours executed in France in the fifteenth century (Brit. Mus., Add. MS., 31,834). The saint stands absorbed in her book and quite unconscious of the little comedy being played behind her back. A very comic little black devil runs along the top of the dado, working his tiny bellows with much vigour against the flame; but his efforts are thwarted by a pretty little angel robed in white and armed with a miniature taper. Although it may be urged that the treatment of such subjects had become traditional,—and of course the illustrations in sacred and liturgical books were tied to certain lines,—yet the humourous artist will always give a touch of his own to the details which lifts the subject out of the common level. For example, there is a certain drawing in Queen Mary's Psalter which presents a freak of the Devil in a humourous way that is altogether the artist's own. Satan is here seen emerging, in a half snake-like form, from the bottom of Noah's

CUT 3

Ark, in which tradition makes him take refuge. He is armed with a fork, with which he makes for the dead bodies floating within reach. But such is the terror of the enemy, that even the dead are roused and hasten to swim off beyond his clutch.

Ridicule of the clergy and the religious orders is also a fertile source of humourous illustration. Some of the commonest forms of grotesques are human-headed monsters wearing the mitres of archbishops or bishops or abbots, or the cowls of monks and nuns, fiddling, dancing, running tilts, and disporting themselves in other frivolities. The gormandising monk makes love to the house-wife while he steals the hare from the pot on the fire behind her back. Another finds his consolation in

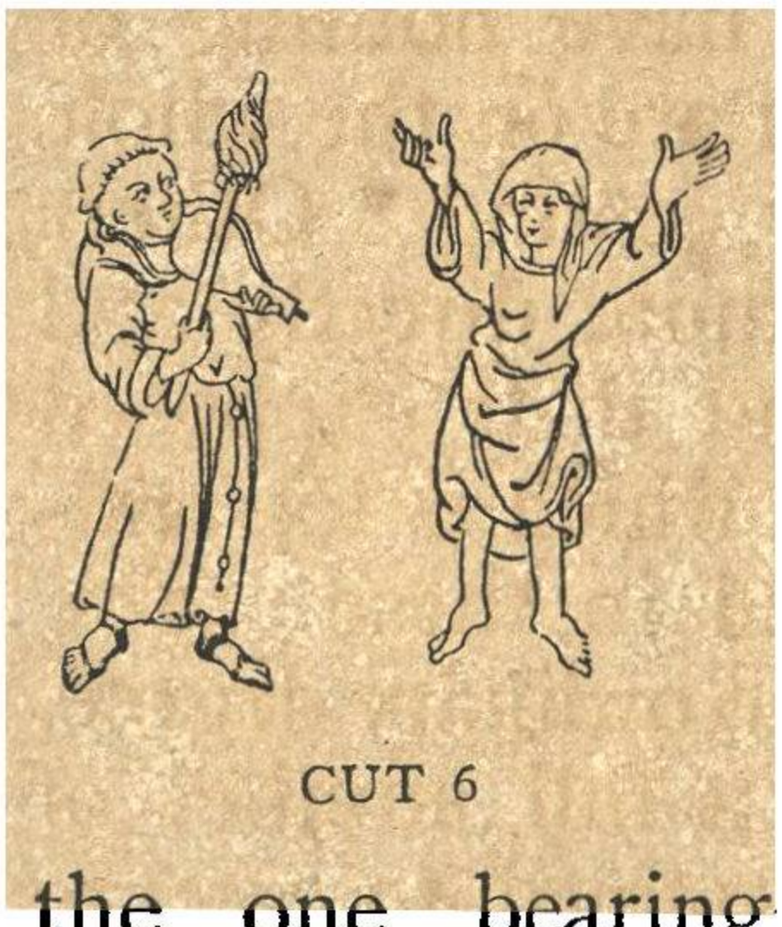
CUT 4

the bottle, about which the artist takes care that there shall be no mistake in regard to size. And others pay the penalty for such indulgence by being very sick indeed. Nor are these comparatively venial enjoyments all that are represented. Other more serious offences are depicted; and among the stories which are not uncommonly illustrated a favourite one is that of the hermit who succumbed to the temptation which beset St. Anthony; though, of course, in the end he comes out triumphantly penitent.

From a Bible of the thirteenth century, executed in England (*Bibliographica*, i. p. 394), we give a line of figures (Cut 4) which decorate one of the marginal finials. Here is a parrot-headed person in a hooded

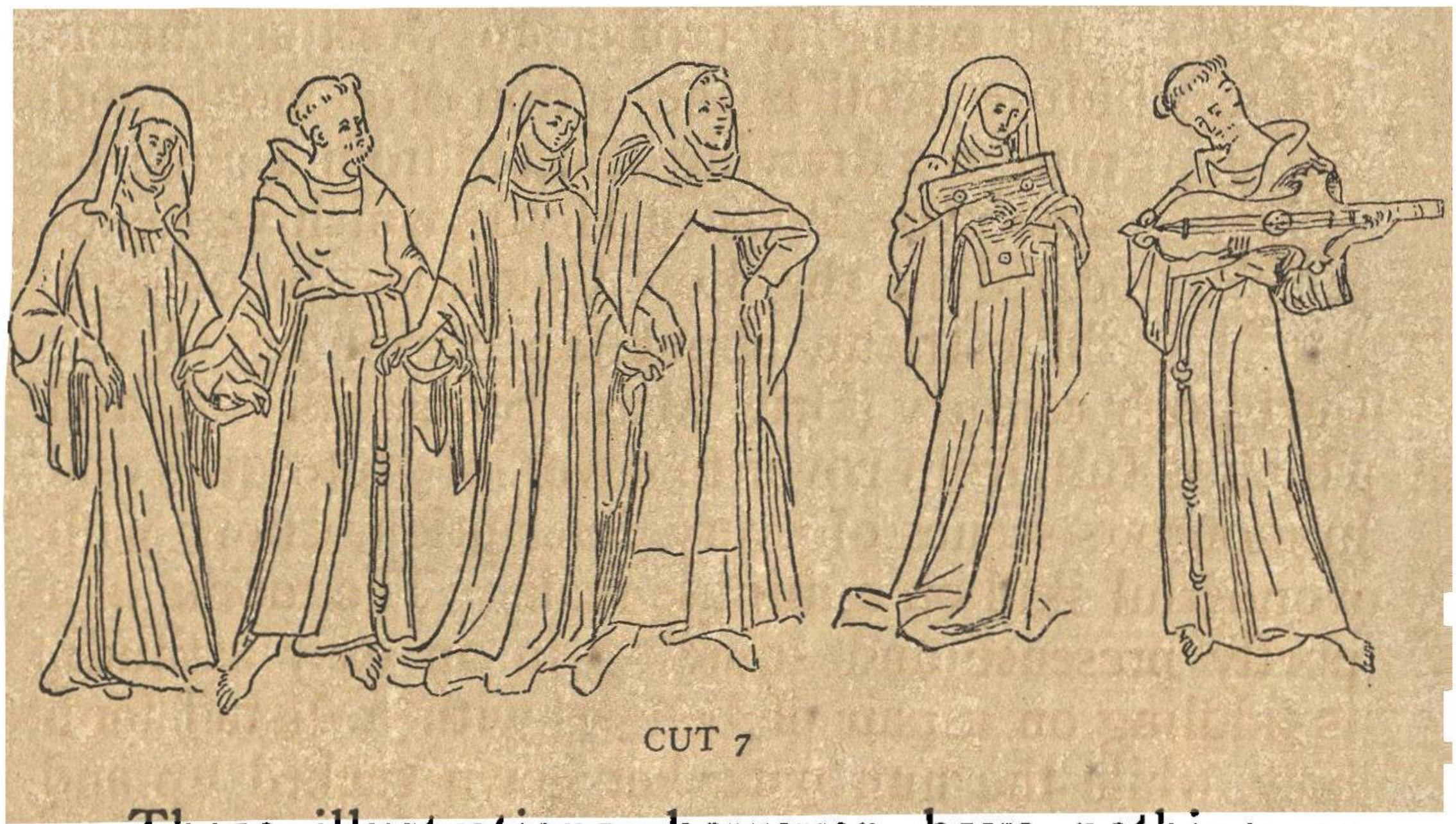
cloak receiving benediction from a dog-headed abbot with mitre and crozier; the rest of the row of figures being grotesques. In company with these we place (Cut 5) a figure from a Psalter, of Flemish work, of the beginning of the fourteenth century (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 30,029), being an ape wearing an episcopal mitre and using a crozier to work a churn. More droll is the action of a monk and nun in a drawing selected from a remarkable little Book of Hours which was executed in the Low Countries, in or near Maestricht, about the beginning of the fourteenth century (Brit. Mus., Stowe MS. 17), and which is full, from cover to cover, of grotesques and humourous scenes of every description, drawn with wonderful skill on a minute scale. The monk, of a portly presence and standing in an easy attitude, is fiddling on a pair of bellows with a distaff for a bow, while the nun with her gown tucked up and displaying a fair length of leg, and with arms thrown up, is preparing to execute a *pas seul* to the mute music (Cut 6). This little picture has a companion in one drawn with exquisite touch on one of the lower margins of the beautiful Psalter of Queen Mary. On the page preceding this drawing the artist had sketched a charming group of four, two youths and two maidens, dancing hand in hand to the music of two musicians. On turning the page (Cut 7) a humourous contrast is presented in the group before us; two monks and two nuns, hand in hand, repeating in their pose the graceful bearing of the

CUT 5



CUT 6

youths and maidens of the other group, are dancing a measure to the accompaniment of a guitar played by a monk and a zither in the hands of a nun. The scene is altogether so pretty and engaging, that one almost forgets that it was not the practice of members of the religious orders thus to disport themselves in careless fashion.



CUT 7

These illustrations, however, have nothing or very little of malice in them; they are on the whole good-natured, if uncomplimentary, jesting. Others might be selected which reflect more directly and more severely upon the clergy and their supposed shortcomings. One, in particular, which is too realistic in its details to be reproduced in these pages, combines humour with malice in no ordinary degree. A monk is seated in a nest on a full number of eggs, from which are evidently destined to emerge the Devil's brood, monks like himself; and to hasten the operation he has picked up one of the eggs and holds it aloft to receive the full warmth of the fiery rays which are given out from a fiend's face above, as from the sun. Nothing could be more humourous than the leer on the face, and the

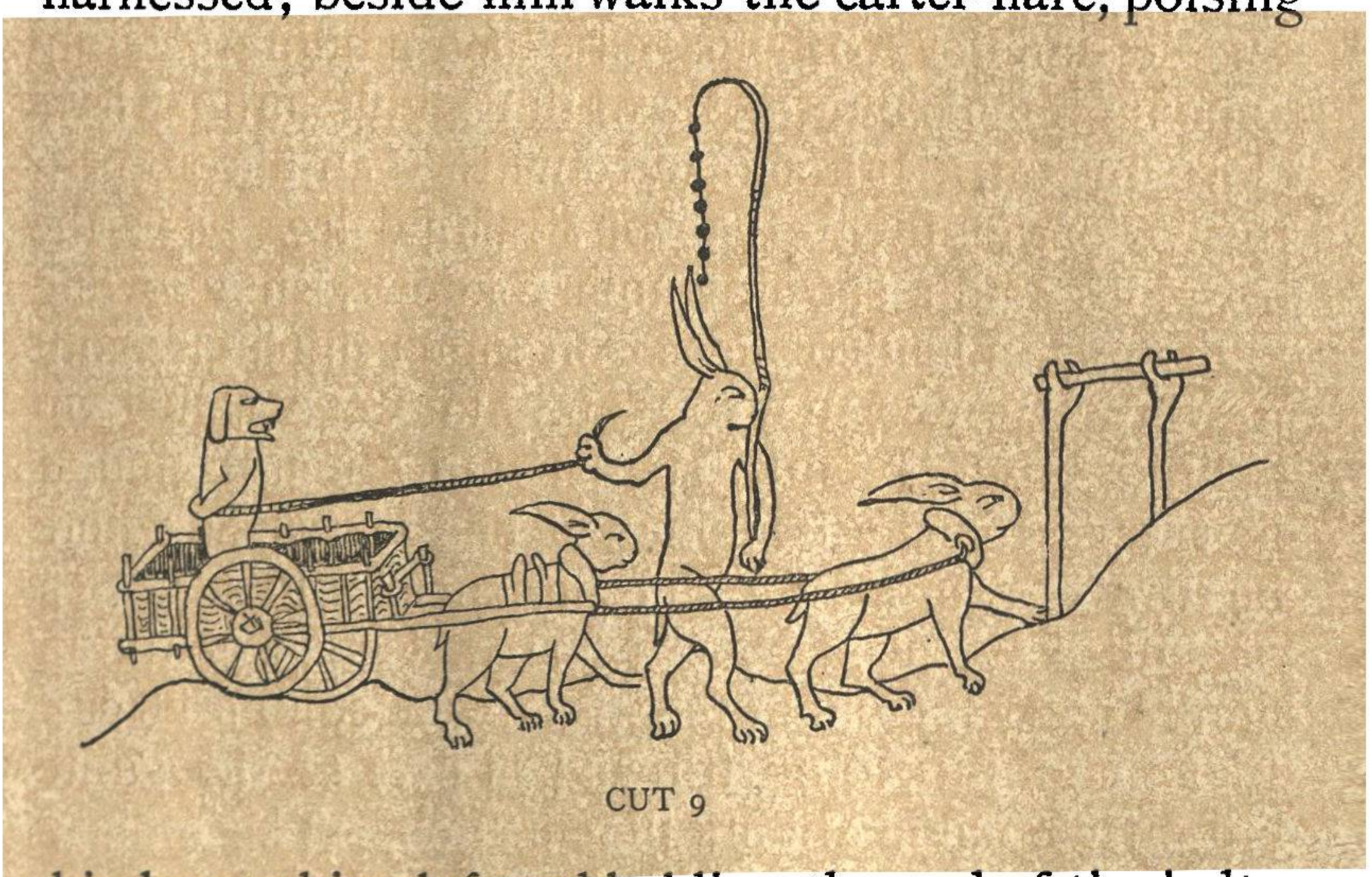
posture, of this setting monk. The drawing occurs in the margin of a leaf of a Bible, written in Flanders early in the fourteenth century.

Yet another field for the exercise of artist's humour is found in the depiction of animal life, whether in its natural aspects or in fantastic or fabulous situations. The tricks of Reynard the Fox are not an uncommon theme for illustration. We see him seize the unwary bird that comes to peck at him as he feigns death; and he runs off with the fat goose, pursued by the farmer's wife. He turns pious and goes on his pilgrimage; and he befools the bear, and the ram, and the hare, each in his turn. Again we have those pretty little fantastic scenes in which the animal depicted charms us with the natural manner in which he is rendered, while he is engaged in some absurd occupation which no creature of his kind ever performed out of wonder-land. On one page we have a hare sitting up and ringing a pair of bells while a small bird perches close by on a branch and twitters an accompaniment; on another, a dog on his hind legs plays the bagpipes, and a second one in company sits blowing a trumpet, all unconscious of approaching calamity from the spear of a grotesque monster stealing up behind him. Here a stag in full strength and at high speed is chased by hound and horseman; here he limps along painfully on a pair of crutches. In one place an armed knight slays a huge stork in fierce combat; in another, the stork equipped with sword and shield is triumphant over the prostrate knight who abjectly cries mercy.

Such scenes of retaliation are not uncommon. We have the hound in full cry in pursuit of the hare; but we have also the other view of things. The hare himself goes a-hunting (Cut 8), as we see

him here in an English Book of Hours (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 6563) of the fourteenth century, erect on his hind legs, with bow on shoulder and arrows in belt, and winding his horn. His quarry is the hound; and the hound is duly caught, and is brought up before a full bench of his implacable enemies. The tables are turned. Needless to say that the prisoner is condemned and led out to execution. In our next picture (Cut 9) we have the solemn procession to the gallows. The criminal sits, with his fore legs bound behind his back, in a two-wheeled cart drawn by two hares appropriately harnessed; beside him walks the carter-hare, poising

CUT 8



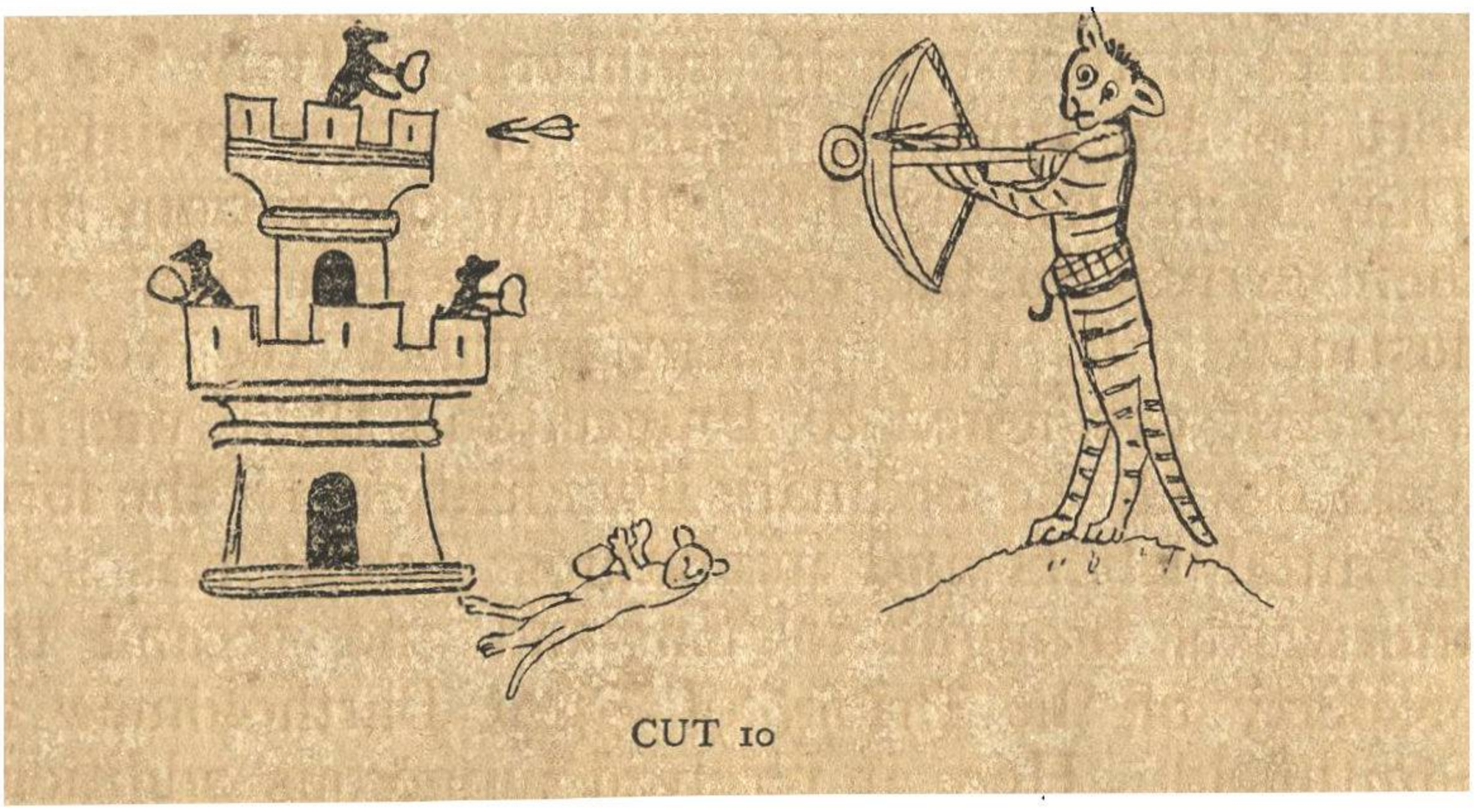
CUT 9

his long whip aloft and holding the end of the halter which is passed round the poor dog's waist. The accessories of this drawing are interesting, as they show us what a cart and its harness and

a gallows were like in the fourteenth century. It comes from a volume of the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX. (Brit. Mus., Royal MS. 10 E. iv.), one of those large manuscripts which it was the practice to turn out in numbers in Italy for export to England or France or other countries. They were usually left without decoration until their arrival in the country for which they were destined. In the present instance the volume was first consigned to France, and there was decorated with the ordinary illumination in the form of initial letters and miniatures; but it was soon afterwards brought to England and became the property of the Priory of Saint Bartholomew in Smithfield. Here it received numerous additions in the way of grotesque and fanciful borders, and, above all, a countless number of little drawings, such as the one we have just given, which form a perfect repertory of illustrations for Bible stories, romances, fables, miracles of the saints, animal life, tournaments, field sports, domestic employments, industries, and what not. Besides the series representing the capture and condemnation of the hound, there is also another in which the huntsman is overtaken by a like retaliatory fate.

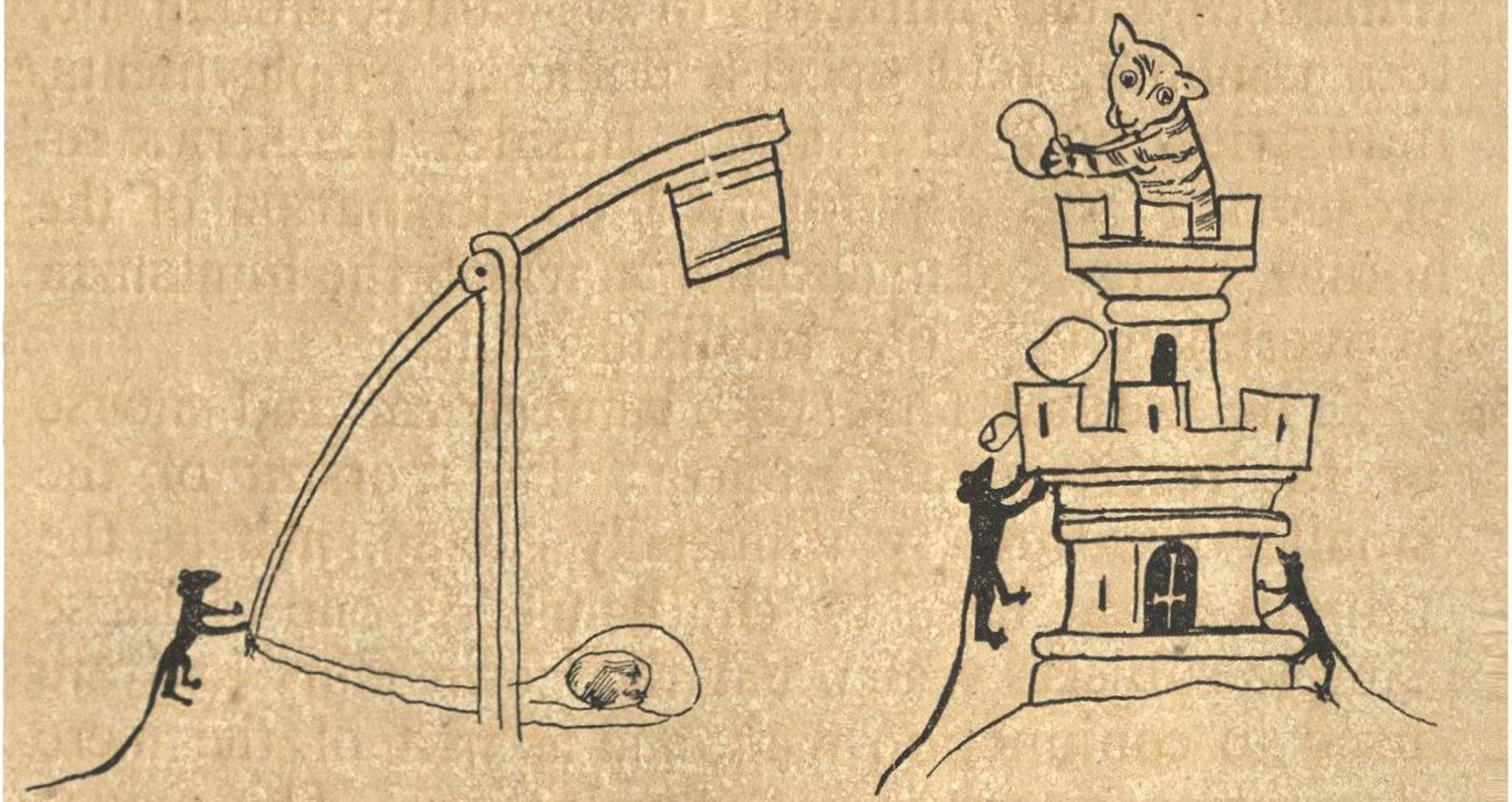
The natural feud, too, between cat and mouse or rat receives full notice. The pursuit of the smaller creature by its deadly enemy, just as the pursuit of the hare by the hound, is one of those simple subjects which tell their own story and are used in conjunction with, and as part of, the mere decorative members of illumination. The mouse or hare darts along the line of the pendant of an initial, or takes refuge in some niche or corner, escaping from the cat or dog which follows close or sits eyeing its quarry, now out of reach, with

baffled vexation. Sometimes there is a grand campaign and the cat lays formal siege to the rat's castle (Cut 10), as in the Book of Hours (Harley



CUT 10

MS. 6563) from which we have already had the hunting hare. Here three rats are seen defending the battlements with big stones to be dropped on to the assailants, a cat thus slain lying at the foot



CUT 11

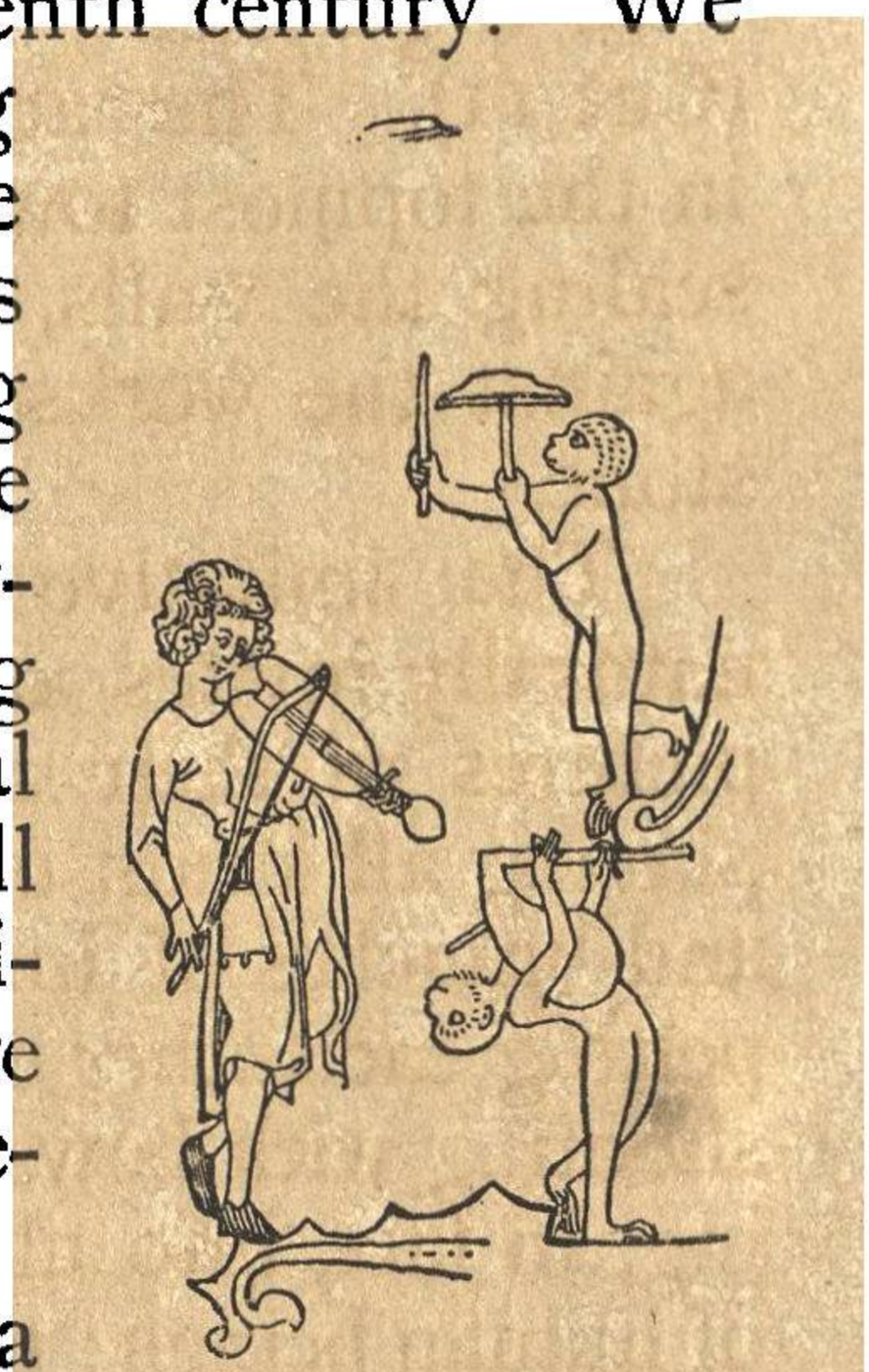
of the walls. Against the works a great cat, drawn, as a personage of importance, on a large scale, after the fashion of the time, is shooting with his cross-

bow; and round his waist is coiled the gear for winding up the bow, if it be not a scaling rope fitted with a grapnel. Then we have the return match (Cut 11). The rats invest the cat's castle. The cat in the topmost tower hurls down stones on the rats scaling the walls, while outside a rat is training against the works a catapult which carries a huge stone.

The imitative nature of apes and monkeys naturally invites an almost endless series of little pictures of their amusing ways. We have them playing all kinds of antics among the interlacings and branches of initials and borders; chasing and pelting each other or other animals, tilting, hunting, shooting with bows and arrows, dancing, and entering, in fact, into all the amusements and pursuits of human beings; now tumbling and juggling; now playing tricks on the unsuspecting, stealing the child from the cradle and carrying it off to the topmost pinnacle, while the distracted mother below tears her hair and wrings her hands. Or they fly at higher game, and boldly catch a full-grown man in a clap-net, just as the fowler catches birds. Or, again, they surprise the weary pedlar, as he sleeps his mid-day nap in the shade of a wayside tree, open his pack, and dress themselves out in his wares. Sometimes the imitative ape himself turns pedlar, as he stands in Harley MS. 6563, and carries his goods attached to a board which is hung round his neck (Cut 12). Then the creatures sit gravely as learned physicians and hold up the vessel to the light, judging of the patient's health by the art of uricrisium.

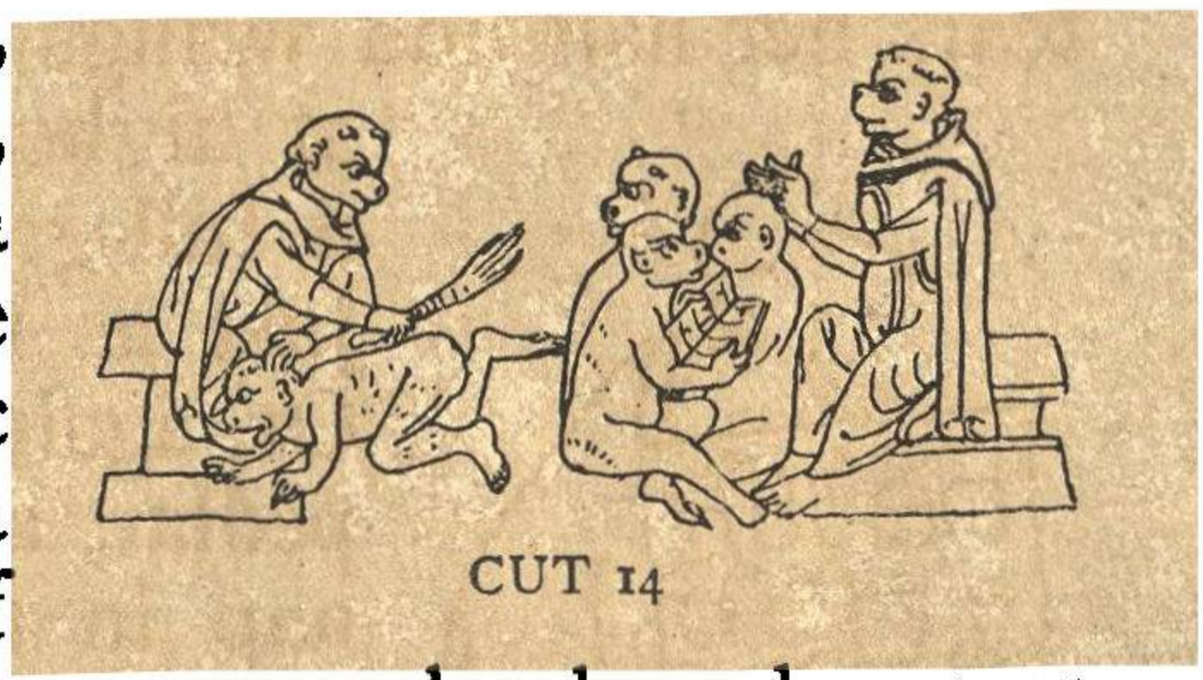
CUT 12

We here reproduce (Cut 13) a pretty little group from the Tenison Psalter (*Bibliographica*, i. p. 397), of the second half of the thirteenth century. We see two apes, the one tumbling [illegible] but playing the bagpipes the while, the other spinning plates on a stick and neatly tossing them in the air, under guidance of a youth who stands by playing the fiddle: the group finding standing-room on a jutting finial of a decorative initial. As in all the best drawings in this beautiful manuscript, the figures are charmingly and gracefully executed.



CUT 13

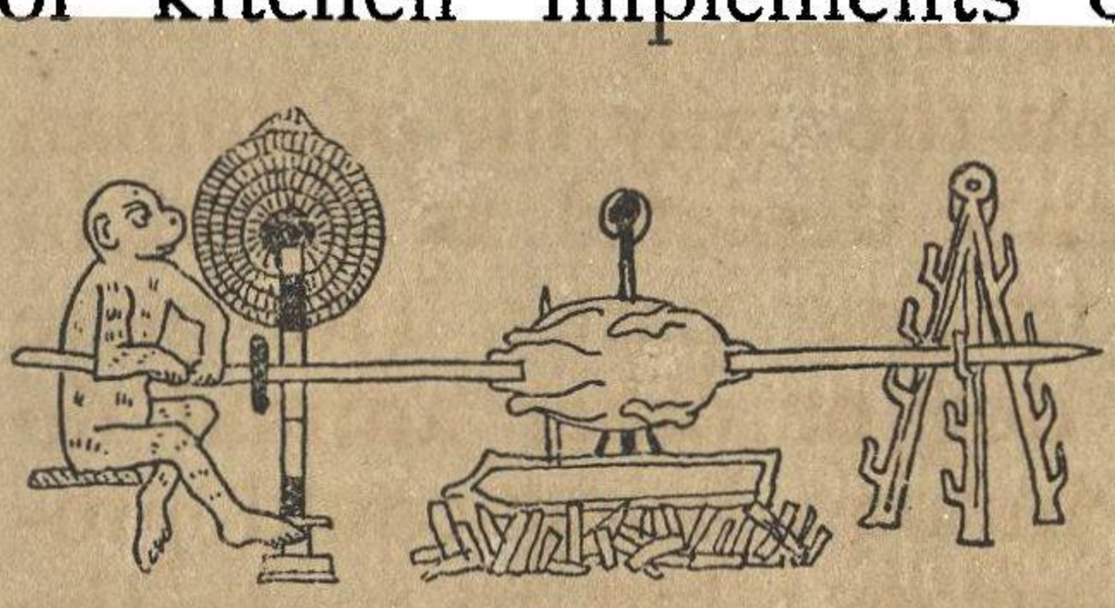
Next we select (Cut 14) a party of apes at school from the Maestricht Book of Hours of the fourteenth century, quoted above. On the right, three young apes are seated on the ground, just as nature made them, and are being taught a lesson by an adult ape robed in a scholastic gown and perched on a teacher's bench. One of the little scholars holds an open book and seems attentive to his work, but the other two cannot resist turning their heads to watch the castigation which is being inflicted on the person of another scholar by a second teacher who vigorously plies the birch.



CUT 14

One more example (Cut 15) of monkey tricks we extract from the same source, in which we witness quite a domestic scene. An ape is here employed

roasting a fat goose on a long spit. The details of this picture are very interesting as illustrations of kitchen implements of the time: the three-legged trestle, furnished with short horns or hooks to support the end of the revolving spit; the spit itself, the wide dripping-pan, set in front of the fire, and the standard circular screen, made of wicker-work or plaited straw, to shield the ape's face from the scorching heat of the flames on the hearth.



CUT 15

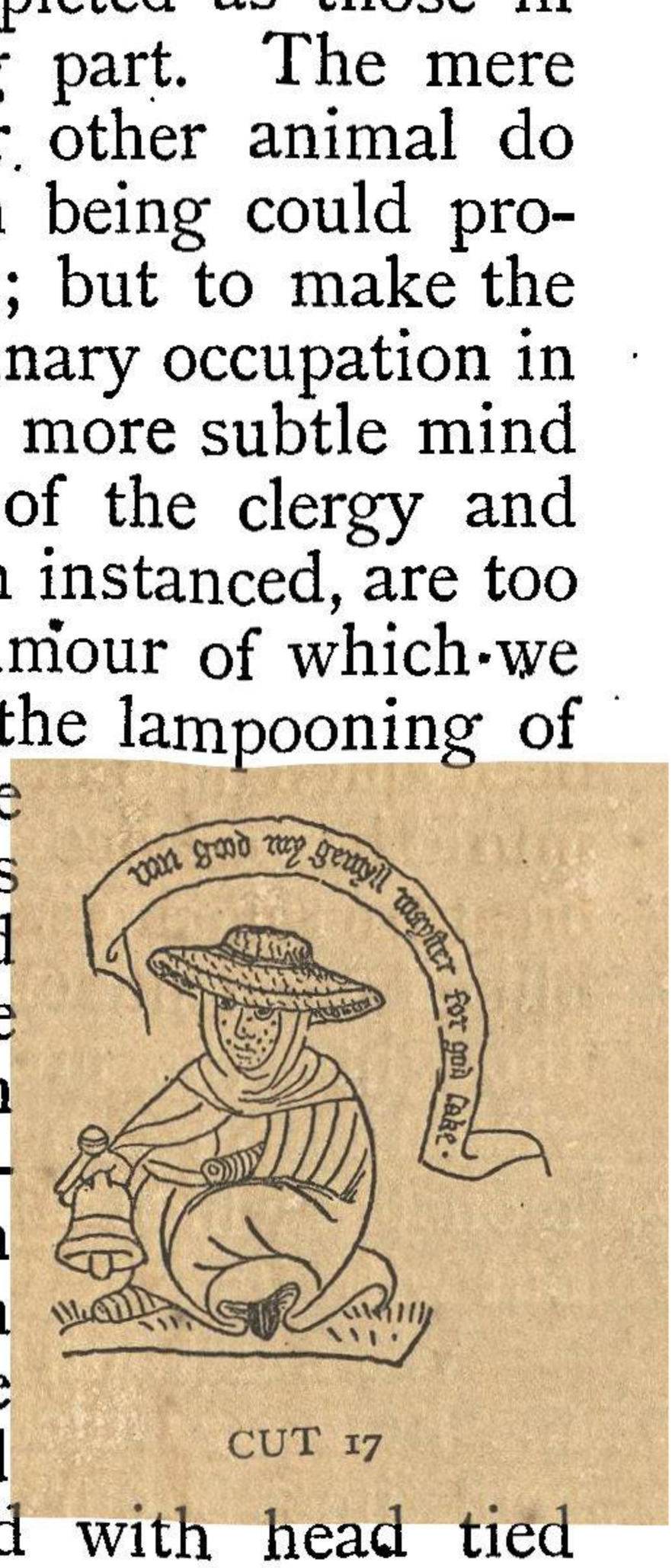
Other animals, naturally, do not fill so much space in the world of humour as those which have been quoted; but occasionally the pig is pressed into the service with good effect, witness the creature which makes music on a harp for a tumbling bear (Cut 16). The instrument, we observe, is

CUT 16

surmounted by a shamrock. It is also curious that the cover which is dropped round the foot of the harp is of green cloth, the precursor of the green baize cover which one sees in ordinary use at the present day. This group is also supplied from the Harley MS. 6563, which has already contributed

our sieges of cat and rat and other subjects; and in the same book we find another instance of a musical pig playing upon a portable organ.

Humourous scenes from the daily life of human beings are not so commonly depicted as those in which animals take the leading part. The mere fact of making a cat or dog or other animal do something which only a human being could properly do is in itself humourous; but to make the human being perform some ordinary occupation in a humourous manner required a more subtle mind in the artist. The caricatures of the clergy and religious orders, which have been instanced, are too palpable to count for the finer humour of which we are speaking; nor, indeed, can the lampooning of any particular class in society rise into that higher level. The tricks of beggars, sham cripples, and other impostors are of course shown up. A good specimen (Cut 17) of the mediæval mendicant is drawn on the margin of an English pontifical of the fifteenth century (Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS. 451). With a face covered with blotches and pimples, and with head tied close in a hood and crowned with a broad hat, a hand and a foot lost and the stumps exposed to view, he sits ringing his bell and whining, '[S]um, good my gentyll mayster, for God sake.'



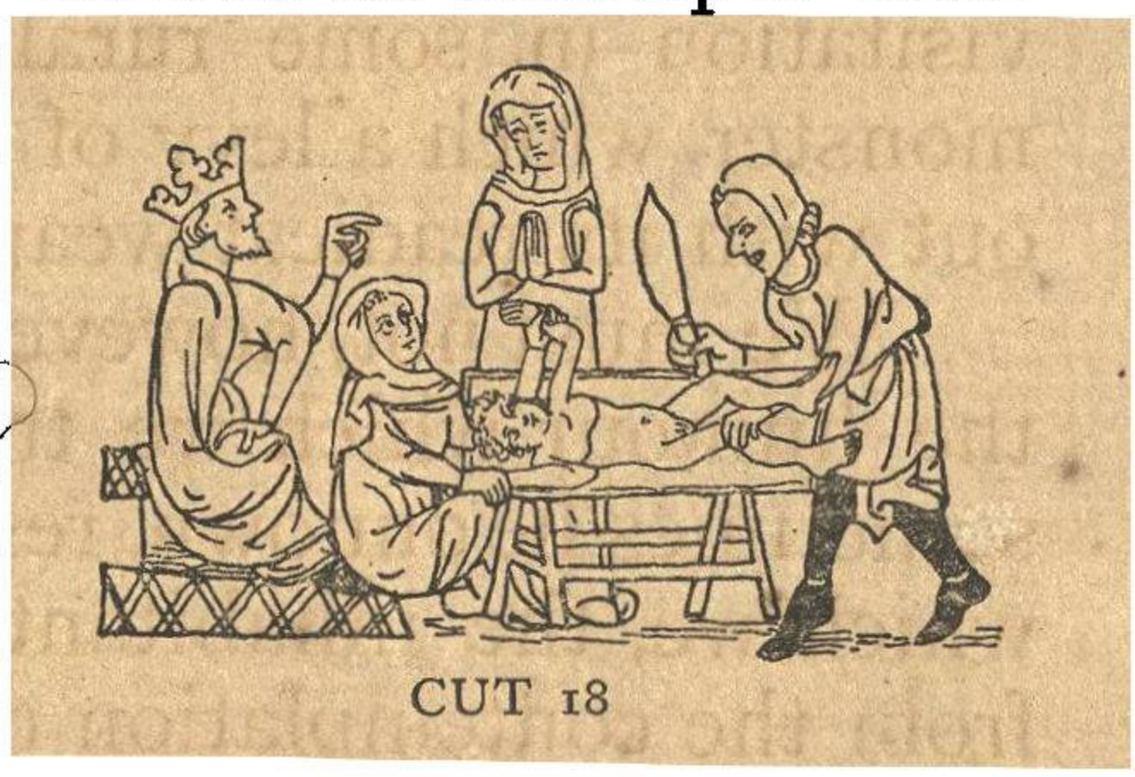
CUT 17

Examples such as this, however, belong to the palpably humourous class of the mediæval artist's sketches. As an instance of truer humour we select [Plate xv.] a miniature from an Apocalypse (*Bibliographica*, ii. p. 9), written in England about the year 1330, a manuscript in which latent humour may be

detected in more than one instance. The scene is the struggle with the great red dragon of Revelation. Above is the graceful figure of the woman, to whom were given the two wings of a great eagle, making her escape into the wilderness; while the lower part of the picture is occupied by the dragon who makes war 'with the remnant of her seed which keep the commandments of God' (Rev. xii. 14-17), here represented by English yeomen of the period. They are doing their best to destroy their adversary with sword, spear, battle-axe, and cross-bow; and they are keenly enjoying their occupation, as is evident from the pleased expression of their faces. To the artist the dragon was, in fact, a comic creature which, in spite of being 'that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world,' commanded no more respect than the Devil in general received in the Middle Ages. With this mundane idea of the enemy of mankind in his thoughts, the artist treats his subject as a local visitation in some rural district by a portentous monster which a levy of the neighbourhood turns out with its readiest weapons to despatch.

We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the humour which we trace in such drawings may sometimes be our own, resulting from the impression which we, the inhabitants of a later world, receive from the contemplation of the work of the ordinary mediæval artist. That work often appears to us ludicrous, and, as far as he is concerned, the humour is unconscious. To him there was nothing incongruous in representing Moses in the act of doffing a most unmistakable pair of English country boots in presence of the burning bush; nor in despatching Elijah to heaven in a farm wain, drawn by four stout horses and driven by an angel with a carter's whip;

nor in Noah and his family climbing into a fishing smack representing the ark. Every one knows the absurd figures cut by many of the saints from the artist's stereotyped renderings of traditional scenes. St. Sebastian is transfixed with arrows shot from bows held not a yard from his limbs; St. Margaret bursts from the body of the dragon before he has had time to swallow the end of her robe which still hangs out of his mouth. Classical and Biblical history and romance are made laughable by anachronisms of costume. Absalom hangs by his long hair from the tree, clad in armour of the time of the Black Prince; Julius Cæsar wears the boots and turban of the Grand Turk; and Paris delivers his judgment dressed as a courtier of the fifteenth century. All this we expect and make allowance for. But, besides these, there are many unpretending little scenes which in their unconscious humour cause us much the same sort of amusement as we derive from our children's untutored attempts with the pencil; it is the naïve directness of the illustrations and the faults, too, in the drawing that make us laugh. We will close this article with two examples of such productions.

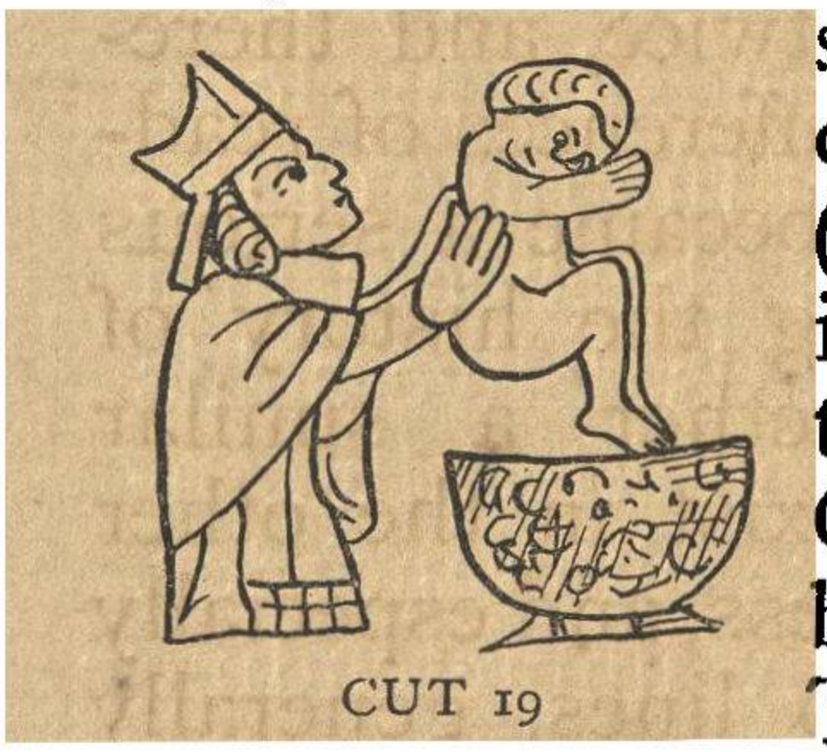


CUT 18

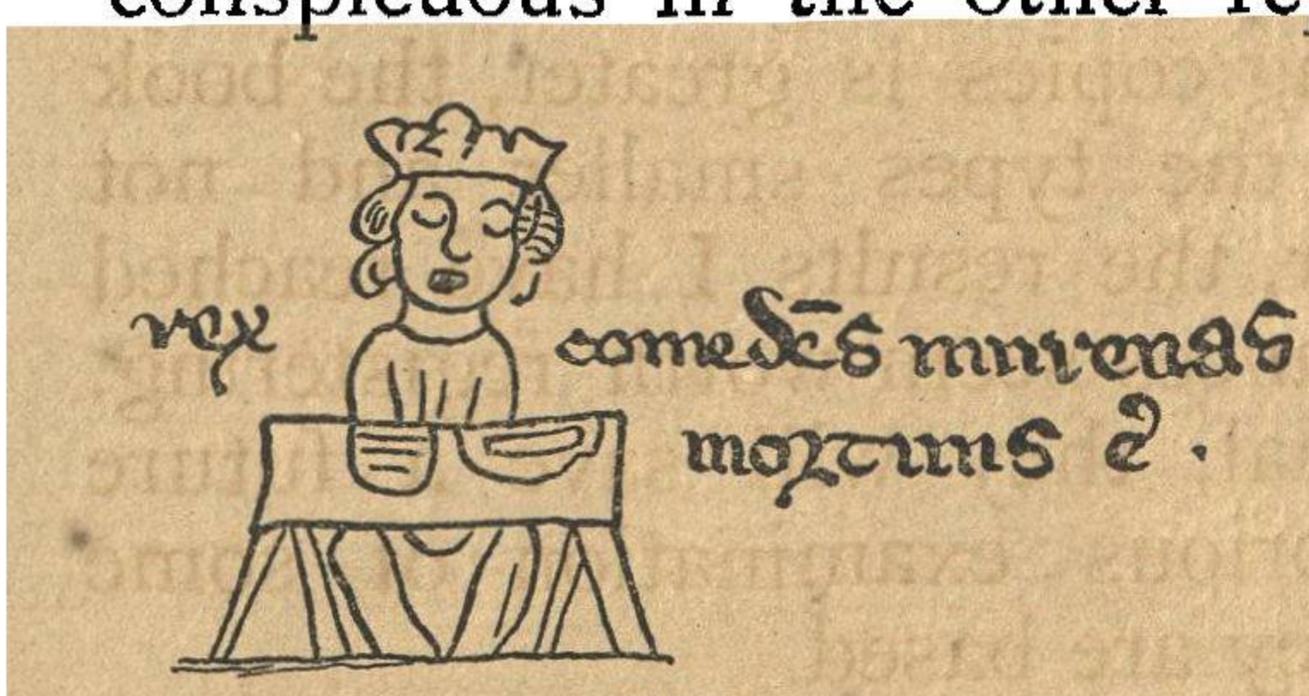
The first is taken from the Maestricht Book of Hours of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is a delightful rendering of the Judgment of Solomon (Cut 18). The king on the left sits in the attitude indicating ease, common to kings in illuminations of the Middle Ages. The impostor claimant is placed on the ground, careless, and heartlessly assisting to hold down the child, while the real

mother implores with clasped hands. But the chief interest centres in the victim—by no means a babe, in fact a well-grown lad, nearly as tall as the other figures—stretched on a table and about to be carefully divided by a servant who seems to enter on his duties with a sense of enjoyment as he wields a large chopper.

The second illustration is composed of two subjects from a chronicle of English history written early in the fourteenth century and adorned with a series of most unconsciously comic drawings in the lower margins (Brit. Mus., Cotton MS., Nero A. iv.). The first subject (Cut 19) is the baptism of Kynegils, the first Christian king of the West Saxons, by the missionary bishop Birinus. The picture tells its story in a very simple and direct manner, a quality which is equally conspicuous in the other representing (Cut 20) the death of Henry the First: '*rex comedens* murenas mortuus est' is the explanatory text which accompanies the drawing. To expire from a surfeit of lampreys, 'a food,' as the immortal Hume remarks, 'which always agreed better with his palate than his constitution,' has ever seemed to us a humourous ending for so great a king as Henry; the artist appears to have unconsciously expressed the same sentiment.



CUT 19



CUT 20

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

NOTES ON THE LATIN BIBLE OF FORTY-TWO LINES, 1455

FROM a collation of all the nine known copies of the first Latin Psalter, printed at Mainz by Fust and Schoffer in 1457, I was able to prove (*Bibliographica*, i. pp. 308-323) that more than half of its pages were printed twice, and therefore exhibit differences of reading among the extant copies. It became a serious and interesting question affecting the history of the invention of printing, whether a similar phenomenon would be found to exist in the other earliest products of the printing-press, and especially in the Mainz Bible of forty-two lines, generally ascribed to Gutenberg. The solution of this question is, however, beset with greater difficulty. The number of existing copies is greater, the book is of greater extent, the types smaller and not so distinct. However, the results I have reached under these circumstances seem worth registering. Though far from final, they will save a future investigator the laborious examination of some copies, upon which they are based.

The first collation was that of the two copies in the British Museum, the King's and the Grenville (K and G). This revealed the fact that in a certain portion of the book, ff. 21-32, 129-158 of vol 1, and ff. 1-16 of vol. 2, every page had had its types set up twice, while the remainder of the book disclosed no variants. The copy belonging to Eton College (E) was subsequently generously lent to the British Museum Library. It was then found that various

readings existed on ff. 6-20 and 52 of vol. 1, and fol. 22 of vol. 2, where the British Museum copies agreed together. The readings of other copies in the varying passages were then obtained by correspondence, viz.: the copies at Paris, Bibl. Nationale (b and c) and Bibl. Mazarine (a); Vienna, Hofbibliothek (V); Berlin, Kön. Bibliothek (B); Oxford, Bodleian (O), and a fragment containing ff. 9 and 10 in the same library (O^2); Göttingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek (g); Leipzig, Universitäts-Bibliothek (L); Frankfort on the Main (F). Of the last two information has not been asked for concerning the variants disclosed by the Eton copy. Other copies exist, and probably some besides those known to me; but it seemed to me that I have sufficient data at least for a preliminary statement, which may best be supplemented by the owners of other copies, who can test the characteristics of their books by the data which I here offer. For this purpose I give one variant for each page where variations of reading occur, which is sufficient to prove that the types have been broken up and set again; and it will easily be understood that on every such page any number of variants may occur.

ff. 1-5*a*.[1] KGg, 42 lines	EOBVac, 40 lines
5*b*. KGg, 42 lines	EOBVac, 41 lines
6 *etc.* KGg, 42 lines	EOBVac, 42 lines
6*a*. l. 25. KGg, Ipa cōteret	EOBVac, Ipsa contēt
6*b*. l. 5. KGg, omnis |	EOBVac, omnis |
7*a*. col. 2; l. 40. KGg, oīmibꝫ animantibus mūdis |	EOBVac omnibꝫ aīantibus mundis
7*b*. l. 4. KGg, faciē . . . enim |	EOBVac, faciem . . . enī |
8*a*. l. 28. KGg, maledicā terre |	EOBVac, maledicam tr̃e |
8*b*. l. 2. KGg, diſſeminatū . . . genꝰ |	EOBVac, diſſemīatū . . . genus |

[1] Except when otherwise stated all references are to the *first* column of each page.

[Collation *continued*]

9*a*. col. 2, l. 2. KGO,[2] trigītaduobȝ
l. 1. EOBVFac, trigintaquīqꝫ (*sic*)
9*a*. col. 2, last line has in EOBVac a line with the words egredereť de haram. Tulitqꝫ ſarai uxorē, which in KGgO[2] are on the first line of 9*b*; yet all have 42 lines on both sides.
9*b*. l. 2. KGO[2], | ſuā ⁊ . . . ſui: vniŭſāqꝫ ſb'ſtā- |
l. 1. EOBVFac, | ſuā. et . . . ſui. vniuerſamqꝫ |
10*a*. l. 4, 5, KGgO,[2] ſempiter- | num: faciāqꝫ
EOBVFac, ſempiť- | num. Faciāqꝫ
10*b*. l. 1. KGgO,[2] ⁊ mābre. Iſti accipiēt ꝑte[s] |
EOBVFac, et mambre. iſti accipient |
11*a*. l. 2. KGg, vniŭſoꝫ fratrū | EOBVac, vniuerſoꝫ fratꝫ
11*b*. col. 2, l. 1. KGg, geſtur[o] EOBVac, geſturus
12*a*. l. 4. KGg, decem. | EOBVac, decē. |
12*b*. l. 3. KGg, p̆us EOBVac, pri[o]
13*a*. l. 1. KGg, velamē ocl'orū EOBVac, velamen ocl'oꝫ
13*b*. l. 5. KGg, At EOBac, Ait
14*a*. l. 3. KGg, filiorū EOBVAC, filiorum
14*b*. l. 5. KGg, Celiterqꝫ (*sic*) EOBVac, Celeriterqꝫ
15*a*. l. 7. KGg, itinere: EOBVac, itinē:
15*b*. l. 1. KGg, peperit EOBVac, pepit
16*a*. l. 3. KGg, :et in- | EOBVac:, :⁊ in- |
16*b*. l. 3. KGg, cōſilijs . . . pergēs . . . gregem |
EOBVac, conſilijs . . . pergens . . . gregē |
17*a*. l. 2, 3. KGg, benedicas. | Cunqꝫ
EOBVac, benedica[s]. | Cumqꝫ
17*b*. l. 13. KGg, refectis | EOBVac, refecti[s] |
18*a*. l. 5. KGg, cōcepit:, ⁊ peperit
EOBVac, concepit: ⁊ pepit
18*b*. l. 10. KGg, | rum triū dieꝫ: q̃ . . . reliq[o]s greges |
EOBVac | triū dieꝫ: qui . . . reliquos grege[s] |
19*a*. l. 2. KGg, ꝑgens EOBVac, pergens
19*b*. l. 3. KGg, teſtis | EOBVac, teſti[s] |
20*a*. col. 2, l. 37. KGg, eſt aūt EOBVac, ē autē
20*b*. col. 2, l. 42. KGg, alieons (*sic*) EOBVac, alienos
21*a*. l. 5. GB, | nō ſunt EOKVFLacg, | non ſūt
21*b*. l. 1. GB, chore . . . aūt EOKVFLacg, chore . . . autē
22*a*. col. 2, l. 2. GB, Hoc aūt EOKVFLacg, Hoc autē
22*b*. l. 3. GB, ⁊ peperit EOKVFLacg, et pepit
23*a*. l. 1. GB, | egiptius de manu yſmahelitaꝫ
EOKVFLacg, | egipci[o] de manu yſmahelitaꝫ:
23*b*. l. 30. GB, pincernaꝫ . . . interp̃tis
EOKVFLacg, pinčaꝫ . . . inť pretis

[Collation *continued*]

24*a*. col. 2, l. 42, GB, Nā et . . . fames
EOKVFLacg, Nam ꝛ . . . fame^{s} |
24*b*. l. 2. GB, | emerēt . . . tēperarēt. |
EOKVFLacg, | emerent . . . tparent. |
25*a*. col. 2, l. 42. GB, āte . . . emerem^{9} eſcas: |
EOKVFlacg, ante . . . emĕm^{9} eſca^{s}: |
25*b*. l. 2. GB, aperuim^{9} . . . ꝛ EOKVFLacg, apuim^{9} . . . et
26*a*. col. 2, l. 7. GB, ꝛ ſpopondi EOKVFLacg, et ſpopondi
26*b*. col. 2, l. 5. GB, in om̄i | EOKVFLacg, ī omni |
27*a*. col. 2, l. 1. GB, et . . . erāt in EOKVFLacg, ꝛ . . . erant ī
27*b*. l. 5. GB, frumenti: ꝛ EOKVFLacg, frumēti: et
28*a*. l. 3. GB, aūt | EOKVFLacg, autē
28*b*. l. 1. GB, | Yſachar . . . accubās
EOKVFLacg, | Yſachar . . . accubans
29*a*. l. 3, 4. GB, paſſus | eſt. ꝛ EOKVFLacg, paſſu^{s} | eſt. et
29*b*. col. 2, l. 26. GB, peperit: . . . dicēs. |
EOKVFLacg, pepit: . . . dicen^{s}. |
30*a*. l. 2. GB, nō comburaī rub^{9}. |
EOKVFLacg, nō cōburaī rubus. |
30*b*. col. 2, l. 2, 3. GB, | iſrahel . . . ut | ſuiat michi ꝛ
EOKVFLacg, | iſrl' . . . ut ſer- | uiat michi: et
31*a*. col. 2, l. 2. GB, enim quo ingreſſus |
EOKVFLacg, enī quo ingreſſus |
31*b*. l. 38, 39. GB, ſum. | Quomodo
EOKVFLacg, ſū. | Quomodo
32*a*. l. 2. GB, hoc . . . q$_{h}$ p- |
EOKVFLacg, hoc . . . qd' . . . per- |
52*a*. l. 38. KGOBVg, deſerto Eac, d'ſerto
129*a*. l. 1. GgV (42 lines to page), no printed title.
EOKFLac(40 lines), printed in red: Incipit prologus, etc.
129*b*. col. 2, l. 2. GgV (42 lines), | Quicquid enī crebri^{9} vertendo. et
EOKFLac (40 lines), | Quitq̆d enī crebrius vertendo. ꝛ
130*a*. l. 1. GgBV (42 lines), | liberi. Et
EOKFLabc (40 lines), autē nō erāt liberi. Et
130*b*. col. 2, l. 4. GgBV (42 lines), | vniuerſo iſraheli. venientium
EOKFLabc (40 lines), | vniŭſo iſrl'i. venienciū
131*a*. col. 2, l. 1, 2. GgBV (42 lines), | nūmum . . . to^{t}tam | panis.
EOKFLabc (40 lines), | nūmū . . . to^{t}tam pa- | nis.
131*b*. l. 2. GgBV (42 lines), agere filio^{s} |
EOKFLabc (40 lines), agĕ filio^{s} |
132*a*. l. 12. GgBV (42 lines), iſrahel quadraginta ānis. |
EOKFLabc (40 lines), iſrl' q̄dragīta ānis. Nuru^{s} |

[Collation *continued*]

132*b*. l. 4. GgBV | dei⁄. . . . quo- modo remit- |
EOKFLabc, | dei⁄. . . . quō remittam⁹ |
133*a*. col. 2, l. 20. GgBV, | hel. Fuitꝙ nomē filij ei⁹
EOKFLabc | Fuitꝙ nomen filij eius
133*b*. l. 3. GgBV, ē vobis. | EOKFLabc, eſt vob'. |
134*a*. col. 2, l. 1. GgBV, deſcenderent ī . . . ꝑte ciui- |
EOKFLabc, deſcendĕnt in . . . ꝑte ciuita- |
134*b*. l. 3. GgBV, ſpirit⁹dñi : ⁊ . . . ī medio eorū. |
EOKFLabc, ſpūs dñi : et . . . in medio eoꝝ.—
135*a*. l. 2. GgBV, | ī iabes EOKFLabc, | in iabes
135*b*. l. 3. GgBV, oīis ꝑpl'us EOKFLabc, omnis ꝑpl's
136*a*. l. 2. GgBV, | beniamin. EOKFLabc, | benyamin.
136*b*. l. 5. GgBV, ionathan. EOKFLabc, yonathan.
137*a*. l. 4, 5. GgBV, ionatha . . . | parte altera . . . ſaul. | Qd'
EOKFLac, yonatha . . . | ꝑte altĕa . . . ſaul. Qd' |
137*b*. l. 6. GgBV, trāſiſſet. deſcēdiſſetꝙ in galgala. Veīt |
EOKFLac, tñſiſſet. deſcēdiſſetꝙ ī galgala. Venit |
138*a*. l. 9. GgBV, | āmirati ſunt
EOKFLac, | admirati ſūt
138*b*. l. 5. GgBV, texentiū. Ipſum aūt
EOKFLac, texētiū. Ipſum autē
139*a*. col. 2, l. 18. GgBV, et nouerit
EOKFLac, ⁊ nouerit
139*b*. l. 5. GBV, ī taberna- | EOKFLacg, in tabña- |
140*a*. l. 30. GBV, ionathan | EOKFLacg, yonathan |
140*b*. l. 9. GBV, | naioth. EOKFLacg, | nayoth.
141*a*. l. 40. GBV, | ionathan EOKFLacg, | yonathan
141*b*. l. 5. GBV, ionathas EOKFLacg, yonathas.
142*a*. col. 2, l. 28, 29. GBV, queſierit. . . . queret ⁊ a- | nimā tuā.
mecūꝙ ſuaberis.
EOKFLacg, q̄ierit . . . q̄ret et aīam | tuam.
mecūꝙ ſeruaberis.
142*b*. l. 9. GBV, Nunciatum . . . ꝙ
EOKFLacg, Nūciatū . . . quod
143*a*. l. 38. GBV, | tergū . . . reſpe- |
EOKFLacg, | t̄gū . . . reſpexit |
143*b*. l. 12, 13. GBV, muli- | er illa prudentiſſima. ⁊
EOKFLacg, mu- | lier illa prudētiſſima . et
144*a*. l. 38. GBV, miſit hodie (omitting *te*)
EOKFLacg, miſit te hodie
144*b*. col. 2, l. 1. GBV, ex aduerſo. ⁊
EOKFLacg, exaduerſo . et
145*a*. l. 4. GBV, liberet me de oīmi
EOKFLacg, liberet me de ōni

[Collation *continued*]

145*b*. l. 7. GBV, michi ſuſcita
EOKFLacg, ſuſcita michi
146*a*. l. 10. GBV, aūt EOKFLacg, autē
146*b*. col. 2, l. 2. GBV, | bāt adŭſū iſrahel.
EOKFLacg, | bant aduerſū iſrl'.
147*a*. l. 8 (9). GBV, ī ſicelech. EOKFLacg, in ſiceleh
147*b*. l. 21. GBV, verbū . . . manus |
EOKFLacg, verbū . . . manu^{s} |
148*a*. l. 4. GBV, Uſquequo nō EOKFLacg, uſquequo non
148*b*. l. 5. GBV, imperes om̄ibꝫ ſicut deſiderat
EOKFLacg, impes omnibꝫ ſicut deſiderat
149*a*. l. 1. GBV, effect^{9} . . . vocabulū |
EOKFLabcg, effcūs . . . vocabl'm |
149*b*. l. 3. GBV, | diffuſi . . . con- |
EOKFLabcg | diffuſſi (*sic*) . . . cō- |
150*a*. l. 1. GBV, ꝛt pacifica: | EOKFLabcg, et pacifica: |
150*b*. l. 5. GBV, ē . . . ꝑpl'us EOKFLabcg, eſt . . . ꝑpl's
151*a*. l. 3. GBV, cherethi ꝛt EOKFLabcg, chereti et
151*b*. l. 1. GBV, in . . . aūt | EOKFLabcg, ī . . . autē |
152*a*. col. 2, l. 2. GBV, | erāt in EOKFLabcg, | erant in
152*b*. l. 4. GBV, q^{o}ꝫ tranſtulit ꝑeccatū tuū. Non |
EOKFLabcg, quoq$_{b}$ trāſtulit pccm̄ tuū. Nō |
153*a*. col. 2, l. 3. GBV, oſtium ꝑoſt eā.
EOKFLacg, hoſtiū poſt eā.
153*b*. l. 2. GBV, enim ſū EOKFLacg, enī ſum
154*a*. l. 7. GBV, ācillā ſuā. de EOKFLacg, ancillā ſuā. de
154*b*. l. 8. GBV, accederĕt . . . homo ut ſalutaret | illū.
EOKFLacg, accedĕt . . . homo ut ſalutaret illū. |
155*a*. l. 7, 8. GVB, pedibꝫ . . . capi- | te.
EOKFLabcg, pedibus . . . ca- | pite.
155*b*. l. 1. GVB, dauid et . . . ꝑpl'us |
EOKFLabcg, dauid ꝛt . . . ꝑpl's |
156*a*. l. 2. GVB, Jonathas aūt ꝛt achimaas
EOKFLabcg, Jonathas [not Yo, as elsewhere] autē et achimaa^{s} |
156*b*. l. 8. GVB, | et ego dediſſem
EOKFLabcg, | ꝛt ego dediſſem
157*a*. l. 6. GVB, q$_{b}$ rex fleret et
EOKFLabcg, quod rex fleret ꝛt
157*b*. l. 18. GVB, aūt . . . angelus |
EOKFLabcg, autē . . . angelu^{s} |
158*a*. l. 11. GVB, adeſto p̄ſens. | EOKFLacg, adeſto p̄ſen^{s}. |
158*b*. l. 35. GVB, armon [*sic*, for *armoni*]:
EOKFLacg, armom (*sic*):

[Collation *continued*]

VOL. II

1*a*. l. 42. Gg, cōfirmandam. | EOKBVFLac, ꝑfirmandam. |
1*b*. l. 1. Gg, fraudes . . . ſuas. | EOKBVFLac, fraudes...ſuaˢ. |
2*a*. col. 2, l. 41. Gg, coꝰdis | EOKBVFLac, coꝰdiˢ |
2*b*. col. 2, l. 3. Gg, cariſſima: ⁊ gratiſſimᵒ hinnu- | lus.
EOKBVFLac, kariſſima: et gtiſſimᵒ hinnul. |
3*a*. col. 2, l. 8. Gg, | qui tranſit . . . ãgulum: |
EOKBVFLac, | qui trāſit . . . angulum: |
3*b*. l. 6. Gg, poꝰtas | EOKBVFLac, poꝰtaˢ |
4*a*. l. 17. Gg, conuiue EOKBVFLac, cōuiue
4*b*. l. 8. Gg, exſpectatio . . . p̄ribit.
EOKBVFLac, expectacio . . . p̄ibit.
5*a*. col. 2, l. 12. Gg, ī p̄ccatiˢ. | EOKBVFLac, in pccīs. |
5*b*. l. 7. Gg, | neſcit EOKBVFLac, | neſcito
6*a*. l. 2. Gg, Om̄es dies p̄auperis
EOKBVFLac, Omnes dies p̄aup̄is
6*b*. l. 2. Gg, compulit EOKBVFLac, cōpulit
7*a*. l. 4, 5. Gg, op̄era diſſipātis. Turris for- | tiſſima
EOKBVFLac, op̄a diſſip̄ātis. Turris foꝰtiſ- | ſima
7*b*. col. 2, l. 6, 7. Gg, feſtinatur | in principio: ī
EOKBVFLac, feſtinaꝫ ī | principio: in
8*a*. l. 7. Gg, pauperis EOKBVFLac, paup̄is
8*b*. l. 12, 13. Gg, [Q]uādo ſederis ut com- | edas cū
EOKBVFLac, [Q]uādo ſedīs ut comed̄aˢ | cū
9*a*. l. 1, 2. Gg, doctᵒ ro- | buſtus et validus:
EOKBVFLac, doctus | robuſtus et validᵒ:
9*b*. l. 1, 2. Gg, cōplēs. | Patientia
EOKBVFLac, cōplenˢ. | Pacientia
10*a*. l. 10. Gg, | correctio q̄ꝫ
EOKBVFLac, | correctō: q̄ꝫ (with colon)
10*b*. l. 2, 3. Gg, aūt . . . et . . . | . . . cōſequetur.
EOKBVFLac, autē . . . ⁊ . . . | . . . conſequeꝫ.
11*a*. l. 3. GB, Abominanꝫ iuſti virum |
EOKVFLacg, Abhominanꝫ iuſti virū |
11*b*. l. 12, 13. GB, Procul . . . p̄ciū eius. | Beth.
EOKVFLacg, procul . . . preciū eiuˢ. | Bech. (*sic*)
12*a*. l. 42. GB, ⁊ fruar bonis. | EOKVFLacg, et fruar boniˢ. |
12*b*. l. 6, 7. GB, cuncta . . . o- | p̄eriēt.
EOKVFLacg, cūcta . . . ope- | rient.
13*a*. col. 2, l. 2. GB, | nō letabūtur . . . vanitaˢ: |
EOKVFLacg, | nō letabunꝫ . . . vanitaˢ: |
13*b*. l. 7. GB, in tenebris et EOKVFLacg, ī tenebris ⁊
14*a*. col. 2, l. 4. GB, ſapiētiā: . . . diſtenſionē |
EOKVFLacg, ſapientiā: . . . diſtēſionē |

[Collation *continued*]

14*b*. l. 1, 2. GB, rationē eorū . . . | loborauit (*sic !*)
EOKVFLacg, racionē eoꝝ . . . | . . . laborauerit
15*a*. col. 2, l. 1. GBVF, videre . . . ml'tis |
EOKLacg, videre . . . ml'tiˢ |
15*b*. l. 16 (17). GBVF, optimis. Oleū |
EOKLacg, optimiˢ. Oleum |
16*a*. l. 5. GBVF, capre (*sic*) hynnuloꝝ
EOKLacg, capree hinnuloꝝ
22*a*. col. 2, l. 3. KGOBVacg, | ꝛ in E, | et in

In this list, the first readings are those which seem to me most likely to be those of the first-printed copies. It seems probable that only a few of these were printed by way of experiment, and that the larger number of copies were of the second type-setting; and this view is in most cases supported by the evidence of the extant copies. But it is very difficult to decide, by the evidence of variety of reading, which are the earlier. Mistakes made in the earlier edition would naturally be corrected in the later; but there are few readings which can be confidently pronounced to be mistakes. The unsettled orthography of Latin in the fifteenth century renders it difficult to say which of two spellings was then treated as the better. Probably the form with *c* (which continued to be largely used to a much later date) in words like *racio* ought to be regarded as better than *ratio*. Similar uncertainty exists as to the duplicate spellings *karissimus*, *carissimus*; *abhominantur*, *abominantur*; *hostium*, *ostium*; *benyamin*, *beniamin*; in all of which I incline to think the first-named forms the best for the age. There are, however, positive misprints in the one edition, corrected in the other. Such are *celiter* for *celeriter*, i. 14, *cunque* for *cumque*, i. 9, 17, *alieons* for *alienos*, i. 20, *at* for *ait*, i. 13, *loborauit* for *laborauit*, ii. 14, and, one

would think, *diffussi* for *diffusi*, i. 149, only that it is difficult to understand how the faulty spelling appears in the many copies which generally have the corrected forms.

It appears impossible, after the collation, to find one copy which is throughout of one or the other edition. The only copies which appear to be identical throughout are the three of Paris, a b c; and of these b wants many leaves. E agrees with them except on one leaf, ii. 22, and L on all its leaves which have been collated. Beside these, the above list shows remarkable unanimity among a large number of copies for many pages, to be followed by a curious defection of one after another into the other column. Much of this may be explained by the hypothesis that many of the extant copies are 'made up' from two or more imperfect ones. Obviously, those copies which are in the original binding must generally be of the same edition throughout; but an old binding is not necessarily the original one. Still, the Eton copy, which is in a very old binding, appears to be a consistent copy of one (the second?) edition, and it carries with it the Oxford, the three of Paris, and to a considerable extent those of Vienna, Leipzig, and Frankfort. Of the other (first?) edition I cannot find any complete representative. The Grenville copy (Brit. Mus.) seems the most frequently to belong to it. The King's (Brit. Mus.), Göttingen, and Berlin copies do so on a considerable number of pages, but are often found in the other column.

The differences among the copies may be summarised as in the following table for the various portions of the book, in which the omitted leaves exhibit no variants:—

NOTES ON LATIN BIBLE OF FORTY-TWO LINES

Vol. I. ff.	6-8.	1st ed.?	KGg	2nd ed.? EOBVac
	9-20.		KGg	EOBVFac
	21-32.		GB	EOKVFLacg
	52.		KGOBVg	Eac
	129-139*a*.		GBVg	EOKFLabc
	139*b*-158.		GBV	EOKFLabcg
Vol. II.	1-10.		Gg	EOKBVFLac
	11-14.		GB	EOKVFLacg
	15-16.		GBVF	EOKLacg
	22.		KGOBVacg	E

It would appear from this table that most of the copies are curiously made up from the two editions, or perhaps that the two existed from the first simultaneously, and were indiscriminately taken to make up copies. And this becomes almost certain when we consider the great number of leaves which exist only in one form (vol. i. ff. 33-51, 53-128; vol. ii. ff. 17-21, and all after f. 22). That the two forms were simultaneous seems to be proved by the curious fact that in the Göttingen copy the first side of f. 139 belongs to the one and the second to the other.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

THE TRANSFERENCE OF WOODCUTS IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

DESPITE some endeavours to prove the contrary, there can be little doubt that the art of taking clichés of woodcuts, or of cuts engraved on soft metal treated in the same way as wood, was quite unknown during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If one printer or publisher desired the use of a set of cuts in possession of another, it was open to him to try to borrow or buy them, or failing this to have them copied as best he could, no theory of artistic copyright having as yet been broached. In the present paper, after a few words on the simpler processes of borrowing and buying, I propose to bring together some typical instances of the different methods in which cuts designed in one country or district were copied in another, and incidentally, perhaps, to throw a little new light on the relations of designers and engravers in these early days of book-illustrations.

As to borrowing there is not much to be said. I believe a few instances of it may be found, *e.g.* Matthæus Cerdonis tells us distinctly that he printed an edition of a *Chiromantia* (Padua, 1484), 'Erhardi Ratdolt instrumentis.' But it was undoubtedly, and for obvious reasons, very rare, and where it existed mostly indicates some specially close relations between the two firms. Thus Jacob Bellaert at Haarlem appears to have borrowed some of Leeu's

cuts for a *Lijden ons Heeren*, printed in December 1483, but on Bellaert's disappearance in 1486 most of his cuts and types are found in the possession of Leeu, and it is doubtful if we should not look on his press rather as a branch establishment of Leeu's than as altogether independent. In the same way Antoine Vérard seems to have lent some of the cuts of his *Art de bien vivre* to Guyot Marchant to illustrate the latter's *Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers* in 1493. But Vérard was a publisher with a special gift for catering for princely patrons, and in Charles VIII.'s copy of the *Compost* we find Marchant's device and colophon painted out and Vérard's substituted. Clearly he too had a finger in bringing out the book, and hence his complaisance. A more real example of lending may, perhaps, be found in the as yet uncounted editions of *Horæ* in both Latin and French, printed at Paris for nearly half a century, from 1488 onwards. What were the exact relations of the producers of these pretty books, more especially the relations between Simon Vostre, Pigouchet, and Vérard no one has yet worked out. Pigouchet and Vostre must have had some sort of partnership as printer and publisher, but the blocks from their joint editions seem occasionally to have been lent to Vérard, and the relations between the three certainly need clearing up.

When we pass from borrowing to buying we open up an endless field for investigation, and one rich in small surprises.

Mr. Falconer Madan recently showed me, in a Civil War Tract in the Thomason Collection, a very worn cut, French in appearance, representing St. John the Evangelist and the eagle by which he is symbolised. It puzzled me at the time, but I have

since identified it with the printer's device of Robert Wyer, in use by him more than a hundred years earlier. Almost as great an age was probably attained by a head-piece of terminal archers, with rabbits, etc., which I first noticed in the 1598 edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*, and found still retained in the fourteenth edition, dated 1670. The interval between these two editions of itself exceeds the three-score and ten years which ought to suffice for the life of a wood-block as of a man, but I have since found the same head-piece in a prayer-book, printed about 1585, and, as it is in no way appropriate to this, have no doubt that its original appearance was even earlier.

In another rather amusing series of migrations my pride as a discoverer has been tempered by the verdict of a lynx-eyed friend that the blocks in question at one period of their career have been recut, but their history is still curious. If any one will turn to the 1575 edition of 'A·Ryght pithy pleasaunt and merie Comedie. Intytuled Gammer Gurton's Needle. Played on stage, not longe ago in Christes Colledge in Cambridge,' he will see that the title-page of this our second printed comedy, 'made by Mr. S[till] Mr. of Art,' and 'imprinted at London in Fleete streat beneth the Conduit at the sign of S. John Evangelist by Thomas Colwel,' is surrounded by a kind of garland supported by two fat little boys; and if we turn next to the last leaf of the *Champfleury*, that most pedantical treatise, written and published by the French artist-printer, Geoffroy Tory in 1529, there the same not very beautiful design will confront us. The concatenation of the *Champfleury* and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* is of itself delightful, but chance has enabled me to add two

additional incongruities, for I have found it again in a copy of the *Christiani Hominis Institutio*, by Stephanus Paris, printed in 1552 by Michael Fezandat for Vivantius Gaulterot, who had published the second edition of the *Champfleury* three years earlier, and once more in William Copland's edition, dated 1553, of Bishop Douglas's *XII. Bukes of Eneados*. Thus we know within a few months the date at which this block, which had previously been recut, crossed the Channel, and there is some reason to believe that some more of Tory's old designs came over with it, for I have lately noticed three fragments of borders used in Tory's *Horæ* of 1525, reappearing in a *Letter to Reginald Pole*, by Tunstall and Stokesley, printed by Wolfe in 1560. Like the larger design, these fragments have been recut, but with considerable skill, so that we may be sure that the recutting was done in France, and at no very long interval after 1525, the lines in the original blocks being so fine that they would soon need replacing.

As an appendix to this section of my paper, it occurred to me to look at the cuts in some of the Roxburghe Ballads, and a glance through the first volume yielded some curious results. Thus a ballad entitled *Friendly Counsaile*, by C. R. [Charles Records?], printed for J. W[right], the younger, about 1630, has two cuts, the first of Christ teaching the Twelve Apostles, which can be traced back through the *Kalender of Sheppards* to Vérard's *Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir* of 1492; the second of two of the three gay cavaliers, who met their own corpses as they hunted (les trois vifs et les trois morts), which occurs in French *Horæ* of about the same date. Another ballad entitled *Christmas' Lamentation for the losse of his Acquaintance*,

showing how he is forst to leave the country and come to London, is headed by a little figure of a man, which I first saw on the verso of the title of Wynkyn de Worde's edition of *Hycke Scorner*,[1] where it is labelled 'Pyte.' This also is ultimately French, and was also originally first cut for Vérard. *Doctor Dogood's directions to cure many diseases* has in the first part half of a cut from the *Art de bien vivre*, representing Aaron and the Israelites going to meet, not, as in the original, Moses, who bears the Tables of the Law, but two English gentlemen, who are joined on in a block of much smaller size. The second part has also an old cut, which appears to be imitated from the Dutch. Another Dutch fifteenth-century design is used in the second part of *The Discontented Married Man*, and there are two more fifteenth-century blocks (recut) in the *Jovial Broom-man*, a cut from a French *Æsop* in *A New Medley, or a Messe altogether*, and a piece of an Augsburg block in *The praise of our country Barley Brake*. Besides these we may note the presence at the head of a ballad called *Solomon's Sacrifice*, printed for Henry Gosson, of the cut of a printing-press which occurs in *The Ordinarie of Christians*, printed by Scoloker about 1548 (figured in Mr. Madan's article in *Bibliographica*, Part II.). Of other cuts I only suspect the history, and the instances I have quoted are sufficient to show the long life these designs enjoyed in England.

Like some other branches of natural history, 'bibliology,' to use an absurd word, would be very dull if it could all be mapped out and tabulated ready to our hand, but in cut-hunting, as in fox-

[1] One of those on the recto has a common original with that of an elephant with a howdah in Doesborgh's *Van Pape Jans landendes*.

hunting, there is pleasure to be gained from pursuit, if not from attainment, and especially in English books of the sixteenth century there is never any difficulty in finding a promising cut to hunt. It may be said, indeed, that whoever attempts to write the history of wood-engraving in England during this period, will need to be quite as well acquainted with the productions of the French press as of the English. Unfortunately this is no easy matter, for except for a magnificent collection of Vérard's, mostly from the Old Royal Library, and a goodly number of *Horæ*, the British Museum is by no means rich in early French books, and I know of no other English library which can do much to supply its deficiencies. But the fact remains that between the large importation of French blocks, the direct imitation of many others, and the probable presence of French wood-cutters working in England, the field for any one desirous of tracing a native school of wood-engraving, if such a school can be said to have existed, is full of pitfalls, from which only a very wide knowledge of the cuts in contemporary French books (and to a less extent also in Dutch and German) can offer deliverance.

The backwardness of England in the pictorial arts made it possible for old wood blocks to enjoy here an unusually long life. In other countries their career was cut short by decisive changes of taste. Thus the sudden inroad of the Renaissance into Germany at the close of the fifteenth century swept away almost the whole of the delightfully simple work produced between 1470 and 1490. One curious case of survival is perhaps worth mentioning. In an edition of Wyle's *Translation oder Deutschungen etlicher Bücher*, printed at Augsburg in 1536, the cuts to all the stories but one show

contemporary work of the usual kind. The exception is the tale of Guiscard and Sigismund, the illustrations to which must be quite half a century earlier, and exhibit all the simplicity of feeling and workmanship of the artists of Augsburg, in their best days.

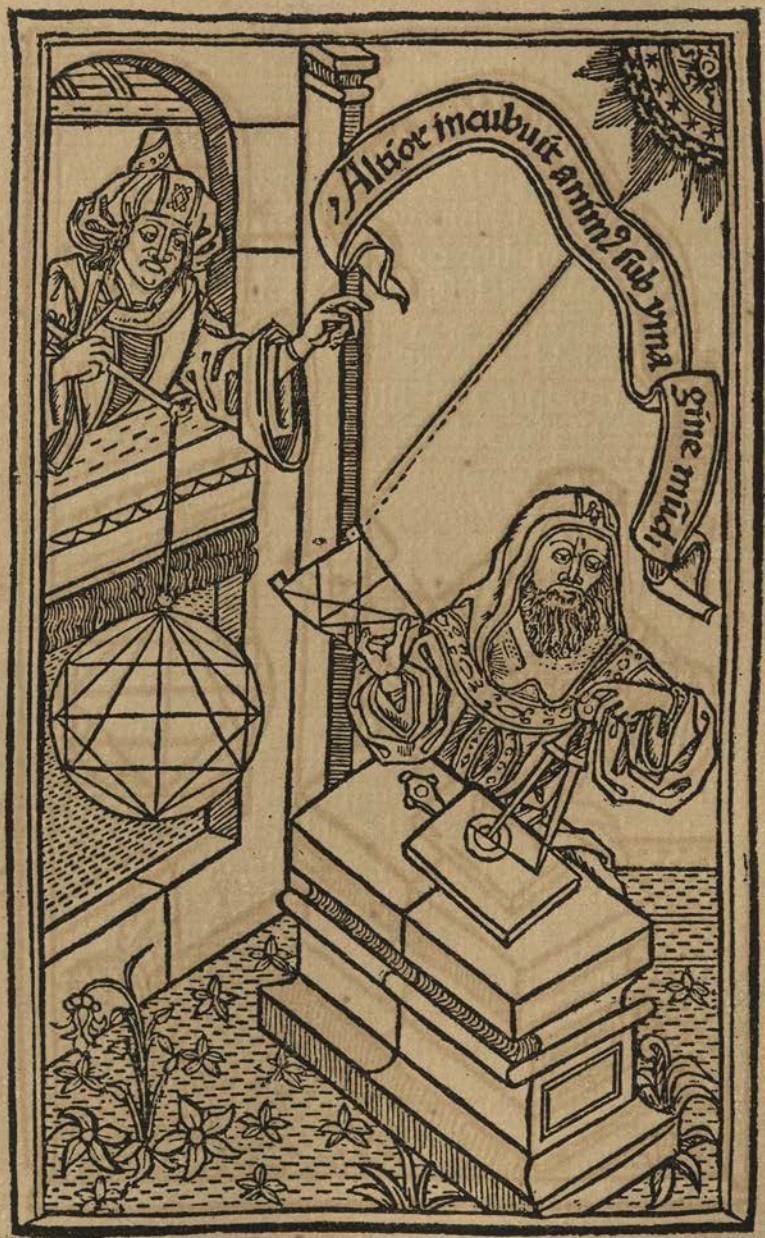
In France we have the same tale, for it is impossible to conceive not merely the Estiennes, but even a popular publisher like Jean de Tournes, decorating his books with the simple cuts we find in books by Vérard or Trepperel. In the *Horæ* the publisher's needs were sometimes too imperative to be resisted, and amid the coarse and realistic engravings borrowed or imitated from German sources which came into vogue about 1505, the old designs from the editions of Pigouchet and Vérard are often found for some ten years longer. Italy is in somewhat a different position, for there, in the fifteenth century, the distinction between the books of the people and the books of the rich had been unusually clearly marked, and while the tastes of the rich changed the popular literature was far more conservative. The little Florentine cuts, about which Dr. Kristeller has been writing in the last two numbers of *Bibliographica*, are by far the most striking example of this stability of the popular taste. It is probable that no new ones were designed after 1520 at the latest, but the old designs continued in use for more than sixty years after this date, battered by successive editions till their borders were knocked to pieces, but still retaining much of their old beauty, and occasionally, by some lucky chance, finding a printer who did them justice. When the old blocks became unusable, the designs were recut, and it is sometimes possible to trace them through as many as three different stages

of successive deterioration. In Venice the little vignettes, so popular between 1490 and 1500, enjoyed a similar, but much shorter, extension of life, the preference for the heavier style of engraving, which came in with the turn of the century, driving them down into the chap-books, where their original delicacy of line soon procured their destruction at the hands of hasty printers.

Though the vagaries of fashion were thus slightly tempered at the great centres of printing in Italy, fashion interfered with the borrowing of blocks in another way in this country. Germany and France were each fairly homogeneous in art matters. We may trace different schools, but their differences are not very strongly marked, and their followers were probably not very keenly conscious of them. In Italy the artistic individuality of every district was clearly defined, and though, as we shall see, the printers of one town made free use of the illustrations in the books of those of another, there was scarcely any interchange of blocks.* In the *De Structura compositionis* of Ferrettus, printed at Forli in 1495, both of the two illustrations are of Venetian origin, that of Theseus and the Minotaur being taken from the *Plutarch* of 1491, and that of the lecture-hall from the *Epigrammata Cantalycii* of 1493. But this is an almost unique instance of direct borrowing, the rule being that while designs were freely imitated, they were, almost invariably, recast in the style of art of the district in which they were to appear.

Passing now from the purchase of woodcuts to their imitation, we may look, first of all, at the simplest and easiest form in which a design could be reproduced. The impression from a woodcut is, of course, a reversal of the design as it appears on the

block, and an artist not very confident of his own skill would naturally shrink from the rather difficult task of copying the printed cut in reverse in order that his own sketch might print in the same way as its original. He preferred to copy the printed cut as he saw it before him, with the result that in the impressions from his copy everything is reversed, the right becoming left, and the left right. Thus simplified his task was easy, and it was even possible to avoid altogether the need of copying, by merely pasting the illustration on the block, and cutting the wood through the paper. When Antoine Vérard desired to bring out a French edition of the *Metamorphoses*, his wood-cutters treated the designs in the edition by Colard Mansion in this way, and as the originals were but poor work the injury to them was not very great. It was the first of these designs, that of Saturn devouring his children, which Vérard, a year or two later, had printed in his edition on vellum of the *Miroir Historial* of Vincent de Beauvais, to serve as a ground-plan to his illuminator, who, by painting out Saturn's scythe, and the child in his mouth, and some other objectionable details, turned it into a very moderately edifying picture of the Holy Family. But this after-use is beside our point, nor are the cuts in either Mansion's edition, or that of Vérard, worth reproducing here. As an instance of this practice we will rather show the original and a copy in reverse of the frontispiece of the *Nobilissima Arte de Astrologia*, by Granollachs, an astronomer of Barcelona, printed at Naples, with the calculations made for the year 1485, when it was presumably intended to be issued. That this is really its date we have strong confirmatory evidence in the style, both of the design and the cutting,



(1) FRONTISPIECE OF AN EDITION OF THE *ARTE DE ASTROLOGIA* OR *LUNARE* OF GRANOLLACHS, NAPLES, FOR THE YEAR 1485

(2) FRONTISPIECE OF AN EDITION OF THE *LUNARE* OF GRANOLLACHS, PRINTED AT ROME BY PLANNCK FOR THE YEAR 1493. COPIED IN REVERSE FROM THE NAPLES EDITION

which corresponds very closely to that of the cuts to the life of Æsop prefixed to the Italian edition brought out at Naples in this same year, 1485, by the jurist-publisher, Francisco de Tuppo, and probably printed for him by Matthias Moravus. The designer was a man of skill and imagination, and we may notice in this picture the Saracenic type which he has given to the man whom we see at the window, to suit with the presumably Moorish descent of its author.

The *Arte de Astrologia* of Granollachs became popular, and in 1493 Plannck, a great printer of cheap books at Rome, brought out an edition of it there under the altered title *Lunare*. That it might not go unillustrated, he seems to have commissioned his office-boy to reproduce the Naples woodcut, and the result was the remarkable work of art which is here set face to face with its original. By and by we shall see how a Florentine artist fared when the same task was set him.

Reproduction in reverse was undoubtedly the refuge of the incompetent, but we must remember that it was also the restoration of the design as originally drawn on the wood, and the most skilful artists did not disdain to save themselves trouble in this way. They had no objection to copying another man's work, but their aim was not to see how closely they could copy, but to make a pretty picture with the least expenditure of pains, and if it looked as well when the rights and lefts were reversed there was no fault to be found. Hence we shall find this method employed in many cases where the second artist was no whit inferior to the first. Examples of the servile reproduction of woodcuts by other printers, without reversal, are hardly as numerous as we should expect, and are naturally

not very interesting. They group themselves chiefly round a few popular books, such as the *Fasciculus Temporum* of Rolewinck, Steinhowel's *Æsop* and Brant's *Ship of Fools*. The home of the *Fasciculus Temporum* seems to have been Cologne, but the cuts in the editions which we find printed in other towns of Germany, at Venice by Walch and Ratdolt, and in Spain, all follow the same lines very closely. Of the *Æsop*, which started either from Sorg's press at Augsburg, or from that of Knoblochzer at Strassburg, no less than eleven editions were printed in different towns in Germany during the fifteenth century, the cuts in all of which are on the same model, while the actual blocks used by Sorg afterwards passed into the possession of Gerard Leeu at Antwerp, and were again imitated by Christian Snellaert at Delft. The cuts in the *Narrenschiff* enjoyed no less widespread a popularity.

A few single cuts, which from their subjects might be used as title-cuts to a great variety of books, also attracted the attention of the more pedestrian copyists. In the first number of this magazine Mr. Proctor drew attention to the many versions of the *Accipies* woodcut to be found in educational books printed in Germany towards the close of the fifteenth century, and while a good many French cuts found their way into England on their original blocks others were copied for English use with the servility we should expect. Among the few instances of direct copying in Italy one of the most noteworthy is the reproduction, at the beginning of the *Supplementum Chronicorum* of Foresti, printed by Bernardino de Benaliis at Venice in 1486, of the pictures of the Creation, the Fall, and the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, from the large Bible

printed by Quentel at Cologne about six years earlier. On the other hand, in my monograph on *Italian Book-Illustrations* (Portfolio, No. xii. Dec. 1894), I have already alluded to a curious instance of the direct copying of Italian ornamental initials by a German. In 1484, in a *Boethius* printed by Oliverius Servius at Rome, we find three very fine initials, and we can trace back the set to which they belong to Sixtus Riessinger, who used some of them in his edition of a *Tractatus Solemnis*, by Philippus de Barberiis in 1480. This is simple enough. But, when we find what looks like the same set in the possession of Johann Müller at Nuremberg about 1473, we ask in some surprise how initials distinctively Italian should appear first at Nuremberg and afterwards find their way back to Rome? The answer to the puzzle is arrived at by tracing both the Nuremberg and the Roman initials to a set cut for Sweynheym and Pannartz, but used by them only in certain copies of a few books (*e.g.* the Rylands copy of the *Suetonius* of 1470) whose purchasers preferred them to be ornamented thus rather than by illumination. One of these copies must have fallen into the hands of Müller, who imitated the designs remarkably closely, but with some minute differences, notably the addition of a thick line to the left of the initials, which in the originals are left unfinished on this side, so that they might be attached at pleasure to an ornamental border running down the margin. Thus the initials used by Müller are copies, while those of Riessinger and Servius are from the original blocks, which must have passed to them from Sweynheym and Pannartz. The difficulty in clearing up the little mystery lay in the fact that it is possible to possess a copy of every book Sweynheym and Pannartz

ever printed without finding a single volume in which the initials occur.

A well-known example of the close copying of a decorative border is the conveyance by Joannes Paulus. Brissensis of a border used by Edward Whitchurch for the first prayer-book of Edward VI., published in 1549. Five years later a close imitation of this, even to the retention of the initials E. W., appears on the title-page of a commentary on Aristotle (*Dialectica Resolutio cum textu*), published by Brissensis in Mexico.

We come now to the last and most interesting section of our subject, the cuts in which one artist has borrowed the design of another, but whether imitating it freely or closely has introduced modifications in technical treatment which make it his own, harmonising it so closely with the work of his own city or country that it easily takes its place with purely native designs, until by some chance its real origin is discovered. For various reasons these transformations are almost, though not entirely, confined to Italy. Thus it would be idle to expect them in England, because there was no English school of design or engraving of sufficient individuality to modify the style of the cuts it borrowed. In Germany, on the other hand, the native school was immensely productive, and had a long start of France and Italy in point of time. Very shortly after 1470 we find illustrated books at Augsburg and Ulm of a simple excellence which could not be bettered. In France and Italy we get a few good books about 1480, but woodcuts do not become common till ten years later. One of the few very early illustrated books of Italy, the *Valturius*, printed at Verona in 1472, was indeed copied in Germany, the cuts being reproduced in reverse in

an undated *Vegetius*, probably printed at Augsburg about 1475 by Johann Wiener, though it should be mentioned that Dr. Muther, like a true Teuton, tries to claim priority for his countrymen by bringing back the *Vegetius* to about 1470. But this is a solitary instance, which belongs, moreover, to an earlier section of our subject, and, until Mr. Redgrave communicated to the Bibliographical Society his paper on the early illustrated books of Oppenheim, I knew of nothing more apposite. In that paper, however, Mr. Redgrave showed how both the border of the *Calendar*, printed by Ratdolt at Venice in 1476, and some of Ratdolt's ornamental initials, were closely imitated by Johann Köbel, in an undated *Passio Domini*. The two books were separated by an interval of quite thirty years, and Köbel in imitating Ratdolt was not content with his delicate outline, but put in a heavy background which does not improve it. Some late German prayer-books show traces of the influence of the French *Horæ*, but beyond these I know of nothing.

The case of Holland is somewhat similar to that of Germany. In the last decade of the fifteenth century, the Dutch wood-cutters imitated closely, or directly borrowed, from the French *Horæ*, but the best work, which is also the earliest, was entirely original.

In the sixteenth century the popular printers, like John of Doesborgh, no doubt obtained their haphazard illustrations whence and how they could. In the editions of *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, by Olivier de la Marche, printed at Antwerp in French and Spanish, in 1547, etc., I thought, at first, that I had found an instance of artistic copying of a very interesting nature, for there is a close connection in design between these highly-finished cuts and the

rude yet striking work in the edition printed at Gouda, by Gottfried van Os, shortly after 1486. Inasmuch, however, as La Marche had given elaborate directions for the illumination of his poem, it is obvious that by following these directions any two designers would obtain fairly similar results, without any direct imitation of one by the other.

As far as my own information goes, the French wood-cutters trusted almost entirely to their own imagination during the fifteenth century, and, when they took to borrowing for their *Horæ*, borrowed outright without any attempt at adaptation. One famous example of copying of a later date deserves mention. In 1545 the younger Aldus printed at Venice a second edition of the famous *Hypneroto-machia*, and either this or the original of 1499 attracted the attention of Gohorry, who made a translation which was revised by Jean Martin and printed by Jacques Kerver in 1546. The cuts to this translation have been variously attributed to Jean Goujon and Jean Cousin, but a moment's glance at the book will show that they are not all by the same hand. The majority of the illustrations show wretched work, and are very clumsily cut, but those at the beginning and a few in the latter part of the volume are fine examples of artistic translation into a different manner. I give here the scene of Poliphilo by the river bank from both the original and the copy, and old favourite as the Venetian cut justly is, I think that the French cut attains almost equal excellence in another style. No finer example of free adaptation could easily be found.

When we come to Italy we find a wholly different set of conditions. Here book-illustration started late, but during the twenty years from 1490

(3) CUT FROM THE *POLIPHILO* OF VENICE, 1499. (REDUCED)

to 1510 its vogue was enormous, and great as was the fertility of the Italian designers it was natural that in face of the demands made upon them by the publishers they should seek help wherever they could find it. But in Italy at this period every craftsman was an artist, and whether he sought his inspiration in the paintings which he saw around him, in the engravings on copper which had flourished long before book-illustration became popular, in the cuts in foreign books, or in those published in other districts of his own country, the Italian wood-cutter always put his own individuality into his work and made the design he was copying his own. I am unfortunately unacquainted with the pictures to which Dr. Lippmann and Dr.

(4) THE SAME CUT AS REDRAWN IN THE FRENCH EDITION OF THE *POLIPHILO*, 1546. (RATHER MORE REDUCED)

Kristeller have traced three or four of the Venetian and Florentine woodcuts,[1] but the examples of translation from engravings on copper to woodcuts in the Venetian *Petrarch* of 1490, in the second Florentine edition of Bettini's *Monte Sancto di Dio* (1491), and in the illustration of the works of mercy in the *Libro delli Comandamente di Dio* of Fra Marco del Monte Sancta Maria (Florence, 1496), are

[1] *e.g.* The cut of a preacher preceded by his little crucifer in the *Doctrina della VitaM onastica* of Lorenzo Quistiniano (Venice, *c.* 1495) to a picture by Gentile Bellini in the church of S. Maria del Orto ; the cut of S. Thomas in the *Epistole et Evangeli* of 1495 to the picture by Verrochio in Or S. Michele, and that of the beheading of S. John from a Pollaiuolo in the Baptistery at Florence.

The case of the illustrations to the 1467 *Meditationes* of Turrecremata, which are professedly imitated from the frescoes in the church of S. Maria di Minerva at Rome, is an interesting example of this copying, the excellence of the original designs sometimes triumphing over the rudeness of the engraving. Unluckily the frescoes themselves have perished.

extremely interesting, and show how well the workmen, especially those of Florence, understood the principle of artistic selection.

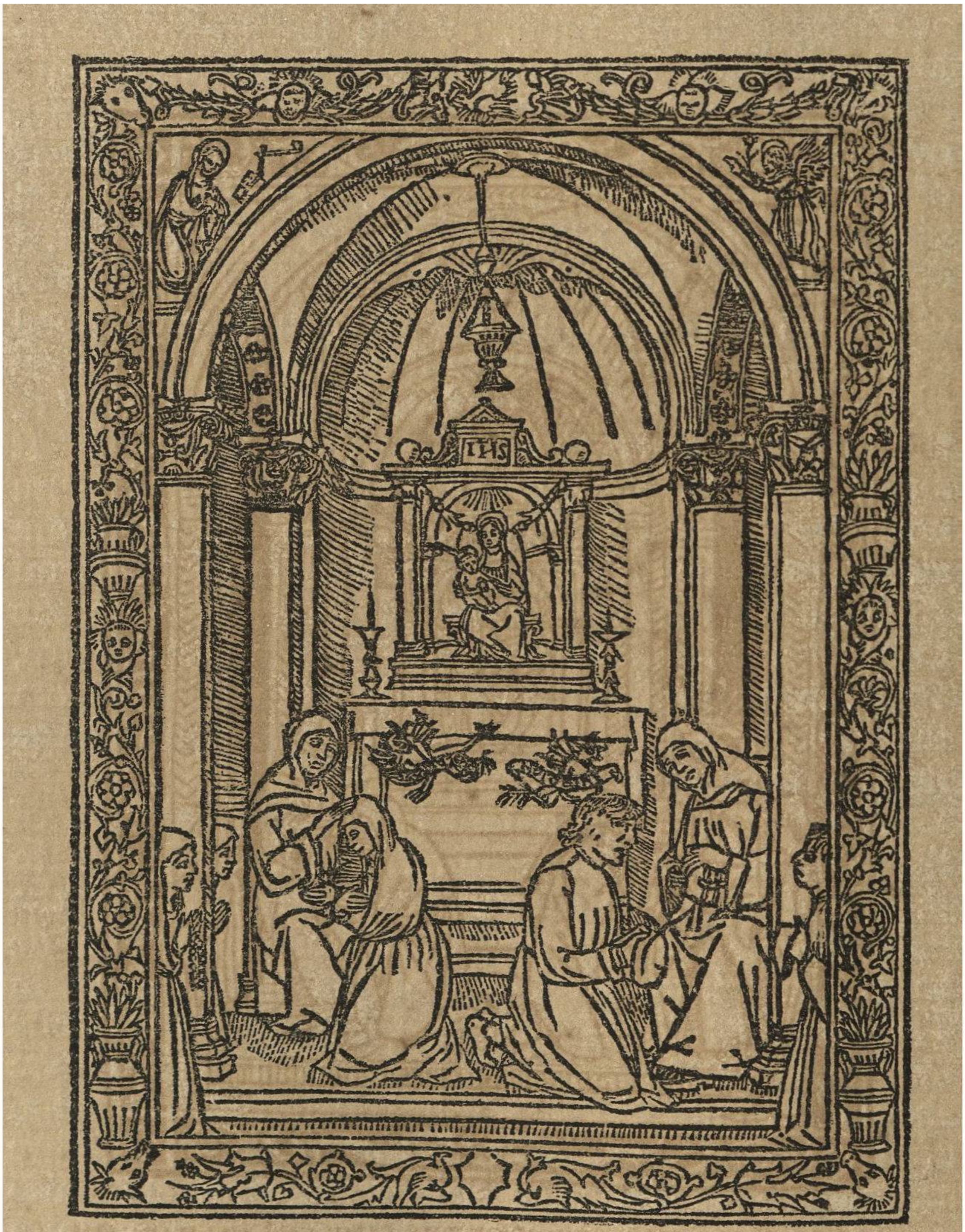
(5) CUT FROM THE QUENTELL BIBLE (COLOGNE, *c.* 1480. MUCH REDUCED)

(6) ADAPTATION OF THE COLOGNE CUT FOR THE MALLERMI BIBLE. (VENICE, 1490)

No more characteristic example of free imitation can be found than in the use made of the cuts in

the Latin and German Bibles, printed by Quentell at Cologne about 1480, by the illustrator of the Mallermi Bible ten years later. The German cuts are large and clumsy (measuring about 7½ × 5 in.), overcrowded with figures, and with the rudest ideas of perspective and arrangement. The little Italian vignettes, on the other hand, are gracefully and delicately designed, and it is only from the presence of some purely fanciful accessory, such as the pond and the swan swimming in it in the examples here given, that we are compelled to recognise the debt of the Venetian artist to his German predecessor. It should be stated that, as neither the British Museum nor any other English library, so far as I am aware, possesses a copy of the illustrated Mallermi Bible, I have had recourse for its vignette to the *Catalogus Sanctorum* of De Natalibus (Venice, 1500), in which upwards of forty of the blocks from the Bible were used over again, together with a large number from other sources.

Another, though a less interesting example of the adaptation of large and rather clumsy cuts to the scale of the little Venetian vignettes is the imitation in the *Terence*, published by Simon de Luere at Venice in 1497, of the illustrations in Trechsel's edition which had appeared at Lyons four years earlier. Again, if, as I believe, we should attribute the first illustrated Italian edition of the *Ars Moriendi*, printed in 1490, 'co li figure accomodati per Johannē clein ☞ Piero himel de alamanis,' to Venice rather than to Lyons, we may claim the majority of the cuts in this as additional examples of intelligent, if not very original, adaptation by Venetian artists, the originals, in this case, being the designs first used in the German block-books, imitated again two years later, by Vérard at Paris.



(7) ILLUSTRATION ON THE BACK OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE *ARTE DEL BEN MORIRE*, PRINTED IN 1490, BY JOHANN CLEYN AND PIERO HIMEL, PROBABLY AT VENICE

(8) FLORENTINE ADAPTATION OF THE SAME CUT USED ON THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE SOMMA *OMNIS MORTALIUM CURA* OF S. ANTONINO. *PACINI*, 1507

It is true that after 1496 Cleyn was printing at Lyons, and that there is a Lyonnese book with the probably erroneous date 1478 by him, but we have no evidence, I believe, of his whereabouts in 1490, and there is one cut in the book, for which, as far as I know, the artist drew entirely on his own imagination, and this appears to me to be much more Venetian in its character than Lyonnese, especially in its border. I give this cut from a copy in the British Museum which has been coloured, so that the reproduction was no easy matter. It comes within our subject, not only as evidence for the Venetian origin of the edition, but as the original of the little cut on the title of the *Omnis Mortalium Cura* of S. Antonino, printed for Pacini in 1507; the differences between the copy and the original being characteristic of the alteration in tone always introduced by Florentine artists when dealing with foreign work. The other cuts in the 1490 *Arte del Morire* also found Florentine imitators, as I cannot doubt that it was through them that the illustrator of the Florentine editions of *c.* 1495 and 1513 obtained his knowledge of the German designs which he followed in ten of his cuts.

Among other books in which Florence followed the lead of Venice the *Meditazioni* of San Bonaventura and the *Fior di Virtù* are perhaps the most important. For my last illustration, however, I prefer to hark back to the *Lunare* of Granollachs, the Florentine edition of which (1496) is as good an instance of artistic imitation of that of Naples, as is the Roman of incompetent servility.

I have already written at greater length than I intended and am conscious that all I have said is dry, fragmentary, and disjointed. There is, how-

LVNARE CIOE LA RAGIONE DELLA LVNA O VERO TACVINO PERFECTO IN LINGVA FIORENTINA.

(9) TITLE-PAGE OF AN EDITION OF GRANOLLACHS' *LUNARE*, PRINTED AT FLORENCE, 11TH DECEMBER 1496, BY LORENZO MORGIANI FOR PIERO PACINI. IMITATED FROM THE NAPLES EDITION OF 1485

ever, still one point which I should like to put forward in connection with these different styles of copying. In *The Masters of Wood-Engraving* Mr. Linton has endeavoured to limit our idea of the work of the early wood-cutters to the mere faithful cutting on the wood the lines marked down for them by the designer. In this theory Mr. Linton stands at the opposite extreme to Sir W. M. Conway, who, in *The Wood-cutters of the Netherlands*, hardly made sufficient allowance for the differences in cutting which might be produced by different designs. Of the two, however, Sir W. M. Conway seems to me to be the nearer to the truth, and I think these instances in which we have both the design and the wood-cutter's copy before us help us to understand the method of work. No one can believe that the hand of any artist intervened between the Naples *Granollachs* and its Roman interpreter, and I feel tolerably sure myself that in the two Florentine cuts I have given, the differences of treatment are also due to the craftsman. Until positive evidence to the contrary is produced, it is reasonable to believe that the craftsman often supplied his own designs, and the artist was often his own engraver, and the examples of imitation at which we have been looking seem to me to strengthen this theory.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

SOME NOTES ON AMERICAN BOOK CLUBS

IN May 1864, while the armies of the Potomac and Virginia were engaged in the battles of the wilderness in the neighbourhood of the Rapidan and Rappahannock under Generals Grant and Lee, a bloodless contest, of a very different kind, was going on at the Auction Rooms of Messrs. Bangs, Merwin and Co., 594 and 596 Broadway, where once stood the Irving Building. This may be called the Fort Sumter of American Bibliographical Warfare, and the struggle was watched with anxious eyes, not indeed by a whole nation, but by a small group of book-men, each desirous of possessing some of the treasures owned by John Allan.

There sat Joseph Sabin, the compiler of the catalogue, 'Old Gowans,' the famous Scottish bookseller, who had had 'mony a crack wi'' John Allan; W. H. Pars, Rush C. Hawkins, since famous for his knowledge of incunabula; George P. Philes, the bibliographer; C. C. Moreau, J. W. Bouton, E. A. Duyckinck, C. W. Frederickson, and many others, whose names are still honoured by American book-lovers, while George Brinley, G. T. Strong, Henry C. Murphy, George Moore, J. Carson Brevoort, James Lenox, and others were represented by their agents. This sale is mentioned here because it marks the beginning of the modern epoch of book collecting in America, and first brought together in

open contest those who wanted to possess these treasures. John Allan fairly deserves the title which has been given him, of the Nestor of American Bibliophiles.

It is true that three years before, in Boston, there had been a sale of the library of Zelotes Hosmer, which had been advertised as 'Illustrative of English Literature, with rare editions of Greek and Latin Classics from the Aldine, Elzevir, and Junta presses.' Many of the rarities there dispersed were from the Corser Collection, and most of the books are still owned in America. But these were the days for the poor collector with knowledge and foresight, now followed by his successor, the collector with money and ignorance, for the Hosmer sale evoked no such interest as that of the doughty Scotchman's in New York.

John Allan was a collector not only of books but of autograph letters, engravings, and curiosities, and, alas! an extra illustrator. He was a venerable, grey-haired man when the present collectors first commenced. He was born in the parish of Kilburne, Ayrshire, Scotland, February 26th, 1777, and died in his own home in Vandewater Street, in New York city, whose population he had lived to see grow from 80,000 to upwards of 800,000, in November 1863. When his estate was appraised, his collections were valued at $1100, his own estimation being $12,000. At the sale they brought in $38,000, though the Kilmarnock *Burns* fetched only $106.00, the poet's 'Toddy Ladle,' $110.00, and other items proportionately low prices. One of the autographs sold deserves particular mention, 'A Letter from George Washington in reply to an Address of the Corporation of the City of New York, conferring the Freedom of the City, dated

May 2nd, 1785.' This was in two folio pages, and, the cataloguer says, 'entirely in the handwriting of "The immortal Washington."' It fetched $1000.00.

The sale created a great sensation, and, although it occurred in the midst of the Civil War, gave a decided impetus to collecting in America.

Previous to the Allan sale, the chief Book Club in America, the first of any importance in date of foundation, was 'The Prince Society of Boston,' founded in May 1856. There had been literary and historical societies before this, but the Prince Society, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was the first incorporated club whose object was 'The Publication of Rare Works in Print or MS. relating to America.' The Society was named after the Rev. Thomas Prince, whose library now rests in a beautiful room in the new building of the Boston Public Library in Copley Square. Thomas Prince himself was born in Sandwich, Mass., in 1687. At the age of fifteen he entered Harvard College, where 'he made a laudable proficiency in the study of the Liberal Arts,' and where he was, as Increase Mather writes, 'a praying student.' After two years of the study of theology succeeding his graduation, he began his foreign travels. He went to the Barbadoes and thence to London in the autumn of 1709. He stayed in England for the next six years, being part of the time settled at Coombs, Suffolk, where he ministered to a devoted congregation. He longed, however, for America, and returned here in the spring of 1717, bringing several families from his congregation with him. On his return, he accepted a call to the South Church in Boston, and was installed in October 1718.

For forty years he was pastor of this church,

and now the same corporation worships in the new South Church on the same Square, and in sight of the library which contains the books of its famous former pastor. As an historian and collector of books, Prince was industrious and successful. The death of Cotton Mather in 1728 suggested to him the necessity of historical research, and for the succeeding seven years, he devoted his spare hours to the preparation of his *Chronological History of New England*. As a collector of books he had but two rivals, the Mather family and Thomas Hutchinson. As is well known, the fate of both these collections was most unfortunate. The former was wasted by neglect and piece-meal dispersion, while the latter was scattered by the fury of a brutal mob. With better fortune many of Thomas Prince's books escaped the perils of war, and the still more destructive inroads of the borrower, and are now safely housed where they will doubtless remain for many years to come. Prince's object in making his collection 'was from a public view and desire that the memory of many important transactions might be preserved.' He collected books, pamphlets, maps, papers in print, and MSS., either published in New England or pertaining to its history and public affairs.

The society which took for its title so noble a name as that of Thomas Prince may well have a pride in its progenitor.

It was not until March 1874 that it was incorporated. Among its many valuable publications may be mentioned :—

1. William Wood's *New England Prospect.* London, 1634. With preface by Dr. Charles Deane. 1865.
2. *The Hutchinson Papers*, relative to the history of the colony of Massachusetts, 1769. Edited by W. H. Whitmore and W. S. Appleton. 2 vols. 1865.

3. John Dunton's *Letters from New England*, 1686, from an original MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Edited by W. H. Whitmore, 1867.
4. *The Andros Tracts*, reprinted from original editions and MS., with a memoir by W. H. Whitmore. 3 vols. 1873.
5. *Sir William Alexander and American Colonisation*, viz. Charters, Tracts, Letters Patent, Rolls, etc. With a Memoir by Rev. E. F. Slafter, 1873.
6. John Wheelwright's *Fast Day Sermon*, 1637. *Mercurius Americanus*, 1645, and other writings with a Memoir by Charles H. Bell, 1876.
7. *Voyages of the Northmen to America*, including Extracts from Icelandic Sagas relating to Western Voyages by Northmen in the tenth and eleventh centuries, etc., etc. Translated by N. L. Beamish, etc., etc. Edited by Rev. E. F. Slafter. 1877.
8. *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, 1603, 1613, 1619. Translated by C. P. Otis, and edited by Rev. E. F. Slafter. 3 vols. 1878, 80, 82.
9. Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan, or New Canaan*, 1632. Edited by C. F. Adams, Jr., 1883.
10. *Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America, etc.* Edited and with a Memoir by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, 1884.
11. *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, etc.*, 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from the original MSS., in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the British Museum. With introduction by G. D. Scull.
12. *Captain John Mason, founder of New Hampshire, etc., Newfoundland*, 1620. *American Charters*, in which he was a Grantee, etc., etc. With Memoir by Charles W. Tuttle. Edited by J. W. Dean, 1887.
12. *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, including his Tract, *A Brief Narration*, 1658, *American Charters, etc.* With Memoir by Rev. E. F. Slafter. 3 vols.
14. *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, 1636-1638. Edited by C. F. Adams, Jr., 1894.

All these were published in small 4to, the second bearing the imprint 'Albany,' the rest that of 'Boston.' The number printed was at first only 150, but this was raised to 200 in 1876, and to 250 two years later; the extra large paper edition, usually of ten, but in the case of Dunton's *Letters*, of twenty copies, being then discontinued.

The year after the organisation of the 'Prince Society' in Boston, W. J. Davis, private secretary to George Bancroft, and Robert M'Coy, a printer, formed themselves into a literary association of two under the title of 'The Club,' and, appropriately enough, issued two books of each of which only one hundred copies were printed.

1. Melvin's *Journal of the Expedition to Quebec in the Year* 1775, under the command of Benedict Arnold. Edited by W. T. Davis. New York, 1857.
2. Washington's *Diary from October* 1789 *to March* 1790. Notes by W. J. Davis. Introduction by Benson F. Lossing. New York, 1858.

This club was the predecessor and parent of the 'Bradford Club' which was organised in 1859 and disbanded in 1867. It was a close corporation with a membership of only five, viz. J. Carson Brevoort, the urbane and erudite librarian of the Astor Library, Charles Congdon, J. B. Moreau, his brother C. C. Moreau, who is one of the two surviving members, and William Menzies, whose collection of books was sold in November 1875 in New York.

The 'Bradford Club,' named after William Bradford, New York's first printer, had a brief but honourable career. It used to meet at the homes of its members, who talked about books, read papers, etc. Its object 'was to issue books in limited editions concerning American History and Literature.' The club only issued eight volumes in all, but they have always held a high place in the esteem of American collectors. The number of each was limited to one hundred and twenty-five, seventy-five for subscribers and fifty for private distribution, all printed at New York.

They were as follows:—

1. *Papers concerning the Attack on Hatfield and Deerfield*, 1677. Edited by F. B. Hough, 1859.

2. Drake (James R.) and Halleck (Fitz-Greene). *The Croakers.* 1860.
3. *Operations of the French Fleet under Count de Grasse in* 1781-82, *as described in two Contemporaneous Journals.* 1864.
4. Murphy (H. C.). *Anthology of New Netherland, or Translations from the Early Dutch Poets of New York, etc.* 1865.
5. *Narratives of the Career of Hernando De Soto in the Conquest of Florida, etc., etc.* Translated by Buckingham Smith. 1866.
6. *The Northern Invasion of October,* 1780. A series of papers relating to the Expeditions from Canada under Sir John Johnson, etc. With notes by F. B. Hough. 1866.
7. *The Army Correspondence of Colonel John Laurens in the Years* 1777-78. With a Memoir by W. G. Sims. 1867.

The next club, if club it can be called, in date of organisation after the Prince and the Bradford, was even more restricted in its membership and operations than 'The Club' of Davis and M'Coy. It consisted of one member and one publication, and died as it had lived, unknown. It was called 'The Zenger Club,' and the book it issued was entitled *Materials for History, printed from original MSS.*, edited by Frank Moore. New York, 1861.

Another short-lived association was the Franklin Club of Philadelphia. This issued, in 1864, J. Melvin's *Journal of the Expedition to Quebec in* 1775.

The 'Agathynian Club' of New York issued only a few books. Among the most important were:

1. *Advice to the Officers of the British Army.* A facsimile reprint of the sixth London edition, 1783. With introduction and notes. 1867.
2. *Polydori Virgilii De Rerum Inventoribus.* Translated into English by John Langley. With an account of the author and his works by W. A. Hammond. 1868.

This also had a short career, and for the next sixteen years there is little or nothing to chronicle,

though it should be noted that in this country each State has its own Historical Society, and many of the larger cities theirs, and not a few other organisations issue publications. One of the two clubs whose formation rendered the year 1884 memorable was closely akin to these societies, and found an appropriate home in New England, which has always been a centre of learning and books, but not always of collections and collectors. This was the 'Gorges Society' of Portland, Maine, named after Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the father of English colonisation in New England. Its object is the publication of rare books in print or manuscript relating to America, and especially to the history of Maine. Its first publication was a rare tract printed in London in 1660, entitled *New England's Vindication*, edited, with notes, by Dr. Charles E. Banks. Its second, *The Life and Times of George Cleeve of Casco Bay*, by James P. Baxter. Its third, *Rosier's Relation of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine in* 1605, edited by Dr. Henry S. Burrage. Its fourth, *The Sagadahoc Colony*, a history of early colonisation in Maine in 1607, under the auspices of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Chief Justice John Popham. The MS. from which this is largely compiled is now in the Lambeth Palace Library, and is entitled: 'The Relation of a Voyage unto New England. Begun from the Lizard ye first of June 1607. By Captn Popham in ye ship ye Gift, & Captn Gilbert in ye Mary C. John written by . . . and found among ye papers of ye truly worshipfull Sr. Fernandino Gorges, Knt. by me William Griffith.' The fifth issue is entitled *Christopher Levett of York, the Pioneer Colonist in Casco Bay*, by James P. Baxter. This is fully annotated, with a memoir of the author. It is

largely made up of Levett's *Voyage into New England in* 1623.

While Boston has been pre-eminent for its devotion to study, it is not too much to say, and may surely be said without offence to other cities in America, that New York City is, and always has been, the centre for the book-lover. Its collectors have been the most generous and ardent, its private libraries the most costly and unique, even its book stores, the leading ones in the country. This is only natural, but there is a wide difference between the books of the collector, the bibliophile so called, and the reader or owner of books, who cares little or nothing for his edition or for the condition of his books. It is not to be wondered at then, that 'The Grolier Club,' although one of the youngest of American Book Clubs, should have at once sprung into vigorous manhood, and have taken its high position from its very inception. In size, importance, and influence the 'Grolier Club' stands in the front rank of book clubs in America, and although it has scarcely passed its first decade, has issued as many as twenty-four books, besides numerous catalogues.

The club was founded on January 23rd, 1884, at the house of Robert Hoe, Jr., and its founders have had much to do with its distinctive success. They were as follows:—William L. Andrews, a distinguished collector; Theodore L. De Vinne, the well-known printer; A. W. Drake, the art editor of the *Century*, who has done so much to give wood engraving, and black and white drawing, the important position they now hold; Albert Gallup, now dead; Robert Hoe, Jr., the most distinguished, intelligent, and successful collector of rare books and manuscripts in America, whose name is well

known throughout the printing world for the great cylinder presses which he manufactures; Brayton Ives, whose library fetched $135,000 in 1892; Samuel Wesley Marvin, who, as head of the manufacturing department of the house of Scribners, has done much for artistic book-making; E. S. Mead, now dead; and Arthur B. Turnure, an artistic printer and lover of fine books.

To the intelligence and foresight of these men, much of the subsequent success of the club is due while the present officers have carried out the earlier traditions with loyalty and spirit. As given in the by-laws the object of the 'Grolier Club' is 'The literary study and promotion of the arts pertaining to the production of Books.' It is impossible in this paper to more than summarise the work of the club, but its success may be explained by the generous policy of its directors and the high standard which it has set up for both its work and publications, and its steadfast adherence to its primary object.

The club now owns a beautiful building at 29 East Thirty-second Street, valued at over $80,000, with an excellent bibliographical library, a large room for lectures and exhibits, a reading-room, and many valuable pictures and prints presented by members of the club. By exhibitions, lectures, and the issuing of books of the highest possible standard, it has done more, perhaps than any one agency, to encourage perfection in book-making, and increase the love for the highest order of collecting.

The club began with the limit of membership at fifty. It has since been extended to two hundred and fifty resident members, and as many non-resident as the council shall determine. Its membership at the end of the first year was only twenty-

three. It now numbers over three hundred and fifty.

Its career began humbly in rooms on Madison Avenue; its first exhibition, held in May 1884, being of etchings, old and new; the second, which followed in November of the same year, consisting of 'Illuminated Manuscripts and Missals,' largely from the collection of Mr. Hoe.

The first publication of the club, issued in January 1885, when it was less than a year old, was a reprint of *The Decree of Starre Chamber concerning printing made July* 11*th*, 1634. Of the long series of books by which this has been followed special importance attaches to two, the edition of the *Philobiblon of Richard de Bury*, by Professor West of Princeton, and the *Catalogue of Early and Original Editions from Langland to Wither*. In the case of the former book, Professor West was sent abroad to make a critical study of all the known MSS. and editions, while in the latter more than two hundred and seventy books, many of extreme rarity, were carefully collated and illustrated with nearly two hundred facsimiles.

The following is the list of the publications of the club, from which, for lack of space, we have been obliged to omit most of the annotated catalogues of the club's exhibitions. With the growth of the club the number of copies of each publication has been gradually increased from one hundred and fifty to between three and four hundred, in addition to sometimes two, sometimes three, copies on vellum :—

1. *A Decree of Star Chamber concerning Printing*, made July 11, 1637, reprinted from the first edition by Robert Barker. 1637. 1884.
2. *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám.* The Astronomer-Poet of

Persia, rendered in English verse by Edward Fitzgerald. 1885.

3. *Transactions of the Grolier Club from its foundation*, January 1884, to July 1885, Part I. 1885.
4. *A History of New York* from the beginning of the World to the end of the Dutch Dynasty; containing, among many surprising and curious matters, the Unutterable Ponderings of Walter the Doubter, the Disastrous Projects of William the Testy, and the Chivalric Achievements of Peter the Headstrong—the three Dutch governors of New Amsterdam; being the only authentic history of the times that ever hath been or ever will be published. By Diedrich Knickerbocker (De waarheid die in diuster lag, Die Komt met Klaarheid aan den dag.) A new edition containing unpublished corrections of the author, with illustrations by Geo. H. Boughton, Will H. Drake, and Howard Pyle, and etchings, by Henry C. Eno and F. Raubicheck. 2 vols. 1886.
5. *A Lecture on Bookbinding as a Fine Art*, delivered before the Grolier Club, February 26, 1885, with sixty-three illustrations, by Robert Hoe. 1886.
6. *Historic Printing Types*: A Lecture read before the Grolier Club of New York, January 25, 1885, with additions and new illustrations, by Theo. L. De Vinne. 1886.
7. *Peg Woffington*, by Charles Reade. 2 vols. 1887.
8. *Christopher Plantin and the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp*, by Theo. L. De Vinne, with illustrations by Joseph Pennell and others. 1888.
9. *Ricardi de Bury Philobiblon* ex optimis codicibus recensuit versione Anglica necnon et prolegomenis adnotationibusque auxit Andreas Fleming West in Collegio Princetoniæ Professor. 3 vols. 1889.
10. *Modern Bookbinding Practically Considered*: A lecture read before the Grolier Club of New York, March 25, 1885. With additions and new illustrations, by William Matthews. 1889.
11. *Areopagitica*: A speech of Mr. John Milton, for the liberty of unlicensed printing, to the Parliament of England. With an introduction by James Russell Lowell. 1890.
12. *Etching*: Aldus in his Printing Establishment at Venice, showing Grolier some bookbindings 16×14. Printed by Salmon of Paris, from painting by François Flameng, etched by Leopold Flameng, presented to the Club by S. P. Avery.
13. *Washington Irving*: A sketch by George William Curtis. 1891.
14. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Engraved Portraits*: Being

the Effigies of the most famous English writers from Chaucer to Johnson. Exhibited at the Grolier Club, New York, December, 1891.

15. *The Barons of the Patomack and the Rappahannock.* By Moncure Daniel Conway.

16. *Bronze Medallion Portrait of Nathaniel Hawthorne.* By Ringel d'Illzach, French Sculptor and Medallist, diameter 7 inches.

17. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Illuminated and Painted Manuscripts*, together with a few early printed books with illustrations, also some examples of Persian Manuscripts, with plates in facsimile, and an introductory essay. 1892.*

18. *Catalogue of Original and Early Editions of some of the Poetical and Prose Works of English Writers from Langland to Wither*, with collations and notes, and eighty-seven facsimiles of title-pages and frontispieces, being a contribution to the bibliography of English literature. 1893.

19. *Facsimile of the Laws and Acts of the General Assembly for their Majesties Province of New York, etc., etc.* At New York. Printed and sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, 1694. Together with an historical introduction, notes on the laws, and appendices, by Robert Ludlow Fowler, Counsellor-at-law. 1894.

20. *A Classified List of Early American Book-plates*, with a brief description of the principal styles, and a note as to the prominent engravers, by Charles Dexter Allen. To accompany an exhibition at the Grolier Club, October 1894.

21. *Transactions of the Grolier Club of the city of New York*, from July 1885 to February 1894. Part II. 1894.

22. *The Catalogue of Books* from the libraries or collections of celebrated bibliophiles and illustrious persons of the past, with arms or devices upon the bindings. Exhibited at the Grolier Club in the month of January 1895.

23. *Catalogue of the Engraved Work of Asher B. Durand*, exhibited at the Grolier Club, April 1895.

24. *Description of the Early Printed Books* owned by the Grolier Club, with a brief account of their printers and the history of typography in the fifteenth century. 1895.

The Dunlap Society, which was founded in New York the year after the Grolier Club, deserves a place in an account of American Book Clubs. It is a printing club organised for the issue of reprints

of early plays, annotated biographies of actors, etc., to collect and diffuse information about the early American drama and literature, and to bring together all those interested in the history of the American theatre.

The organisers were:—J. H. V. Arnold, Laurence Hutton, Brander Matthews, Harry Edwards, and Thomas J. McKee. The Society has issued fifteen volumes, and was named after William Dunlap, the father of the American stage, who was also its earliest playwright. The publications are as follows:—

1. Royal Tyler's *The Contrast*, with an introduction by T. J. McKee. 1887.
2. William Dunlap's *The Father*, with an introduction by T. J. McKee. 1887.
3. *Opening Addresses, 1752 to 1880.* Edited by Laurence Hutton. 1887.
4. William Dunlap's *André: A Tragedy in five acts*, with introduction by Brander Matthews. 1887.
5. *Thomas A. Cooper: A Memoir.* By J. N. Ireland. 1888.
6. *Biennial Report of the Treasurer and Secretary of the Dunlap Society.* 1888.
7. William Winter's *Brief Chronicles.* 3 vols. 1889-1890.
8. *Charlotte Cushman.* By Lawrence Barrett. 1889.
9. *John Gilbert.* By William Winter. 1890.
10. *Occasional Addresses*, A.D. 1773-1890. Edited by Laurence Hutton and William Carey. 1890.
11. William Winter's *The actor and other speeches.* 1891.
12. *William E. Burton.* By William L. Keese. 1891.
13. John Burk's *Bunker Hill; or, the Death of General Warren.* With an introductory essay by Brander Matthews. 1891.

These are all printed by De Vinne, and are limited in their issue.

It is not to be wondered at that the Grolier Club should soon have imitators, and that in other parts of the United States men of kindred tastes and pursuits should get together and try to promote the arts connected with the manufacture of books.

In January 1886, such a club was originated in

Boston, and adopted a constitution and by-laws in 1887. The club chose for its name 'The Club of Odd Volumes,' and has issued in limited editions:—

1. *The work of George Cruikshank* in oil, water-colours, original drawings, etchings, woodcuts, lithographs, and glyphographs, collected by John B. Gough, with a facsimile of the catalogue, and twenty-eight original drawings reproduced in photogravure. 1890.
2. *The Women of the Court of Louis XV.*, translated from the French of Imbert de Saint Amand. 1892.
3. *The Last Years of Louis XV.*, translated from the French of Imbert de Saint Amand.
4. *The New England Crisis.* By Benjamin Thomson. Reprinted from the edition of 1676. 1894.
5. *New England; or, a Brief Examination of the Ayre, Earth, Water, Fish, and Fowles of that Country.* By Rev. W. M. Morrell. Reprinted from the scarce original in the British Museum, 1625. 1895.

The recent death of Mr. Frederick Locker-Lampson recalls the fact that one of the youngest of our bibliographical plants is that in Cleveland, Ohio, named, after Mr. Locker's house in Sussex, 'The Rowfant Club.' It was founded, February 1892, and has now a membership of nearly one hundred. It has printed:

1. *The Code of Regulations, etc.* 1892.
2. *The Culprit Fay and other Poems.* By James Rodman Drake. Printed by John Wilson of Cambridge, Mass. Title-page and Vignettes by E. H. Garrett. 1893.
3. *Some Remarks concerning Mr. Longfellow's 'Excelsior.'* By a fellow of the 'Rowfant Club.' 1894.
4. *A Bibliography of H. D. Thoreau*, with an outline of his life. Compiled by Samuel Arthur Jones. 1894.
4. *Landor's Letter to Emerson, with an Appendix containing Emerson's paper on Landor from 'the Dial.'* Edited with an Introductory Note by Samuel Arthur Jones. 1895.

The Club has now in the press an edition of Mr. Locker-Lampson's poems, to be entitled, 'Rowfant Rhymes.'

SOME NOTES ON AMERICAN BOOK CLUBS

In May 1893 The Philo-Biblon Club of Philadelphia was organised. Its first publication is to be Magna Charta, in an elaborate reprint from the only known copy of the edition printed by Bradford in Philadelphia, with preface by William Penn. There are upwards of fifty members now composing the club, and among its incorporators are to be noted the names of the late George W. Childs, Dr. Horace Howard Furness, and Judge Samuel W. Pennypucker.

In 1894 a club of book-lovers was organised, which is unique indeed. It may be called a club on wheels. It has twelve members who have dubbed themselves 'The Duodecimos,' and their residences are scattered over half a continent. This club has issued only one book, a dainty 12mo, printed by De Vinne, a facsimile of *Poor Richard's Almanac for the Year* 1733, the first of this famous series, written by Benjamin Franklin, under the pseudonym of Richard Saunders. The reprint is edited by John Bigelow, the learned biographer of Franklin, and has facsimiles of the rarer portraits of Franklin.

We have still to mention one club which bids fair to outdo in a brief space of time most other book clubs in America. This is a recent organisation in Chicago, a city which has a way of succeeding at once in everything it undertakes. The club is called 'The Caxton Club,' and was incorporated on January 26th, 1895, with fifteen members. It numbers among its incorporators some of the best known collectors in America, and has already given an exhibition of bindings.

ERNEST DRESSEL NORTH.

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

THE DECORATION OF BOOK-EDGES

IN the libraries of the Middle Ages books were more often laid on their sides with the edges outwards, than placed upright in the modern manner. Hence the title is seldom found written on the back, but, when given at all, occurs mostly on the upper cover. Sometimes, however, in addition to this superscription, sometimes in place of it, we find the title written or painted on the front edge, and it appears at first sight a reasonable theory that the decoration of book-edges, which certainly dates from the fourteenth century, if it did not begin still earlier, was a development of this practice. Tempting, however, as the theory is, I can find no evidence to support it. The old custom left its trace in the names and mottoes not uncommonly found on French and English book-edges in the early part of the sixteenth century; but, except in a few comparatively late Italian books, I have never found the writing of titles of books decoratively treated, and it is safer to suppose that the ornamental designs to which I propose to draw attention in this paper took their origin from the natural desire of the binders, who spent so much labour on orna-

menting the covers, that no part of the outside of the book should be left undecorated.

The designs of which I am about to write appear to me to arrange themselves into three clearly-marked divisions. In the first of these, the origin of which dates back to times when Byzantine influences were still predominant, the edges are left plain, or are painted with some natural colour, upon which the pattern is again painted by hand. In the second division the edges are gilded, and the designs worked by hand on the gold with small punches or binders' stamps, sometimes, though not in the best examples, picked out with colour. Examples of this class are found in the fifteenth century, and towards the end of the sixteenth entirely supersede those of our first division, themselves lasting on for about another hundred years. On the Continent the plain gilt edge then obtained complete supremacy, but in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and again about the close of the eighteenth, we find the front edges of many sumptuous books ornamented with paintings under the gold, which are only visible when the book is open and the leaves sloped. These three divisions form the heads under which I have arranged my descriptions of the chief examples with which I am acquainted.

I

The circle and cross are found almost universally in examples of early Christian symbolism and decoration; and the earliest decorated book-edges, belonging generally to religious books, which were numerically in such preponderance in mediæval times, bear some modification of circle or cross in all the instances I have been able to find.

In the case of the Greek manuscript of the Gospels written in the tenth century, part of the edge of which I have restored as an example (fig. 1), the surface of the vellum edges is very irregular, owing to the re-sewing of the book. The design upon it, however, can easily be traced, and its main features might well be coeval with the manuscript itself, but the little flourishes between the circles do not bear the appearance of such remote antiquity. It seems, however, quite possible that the edges were painted during the fourteenth century, as they

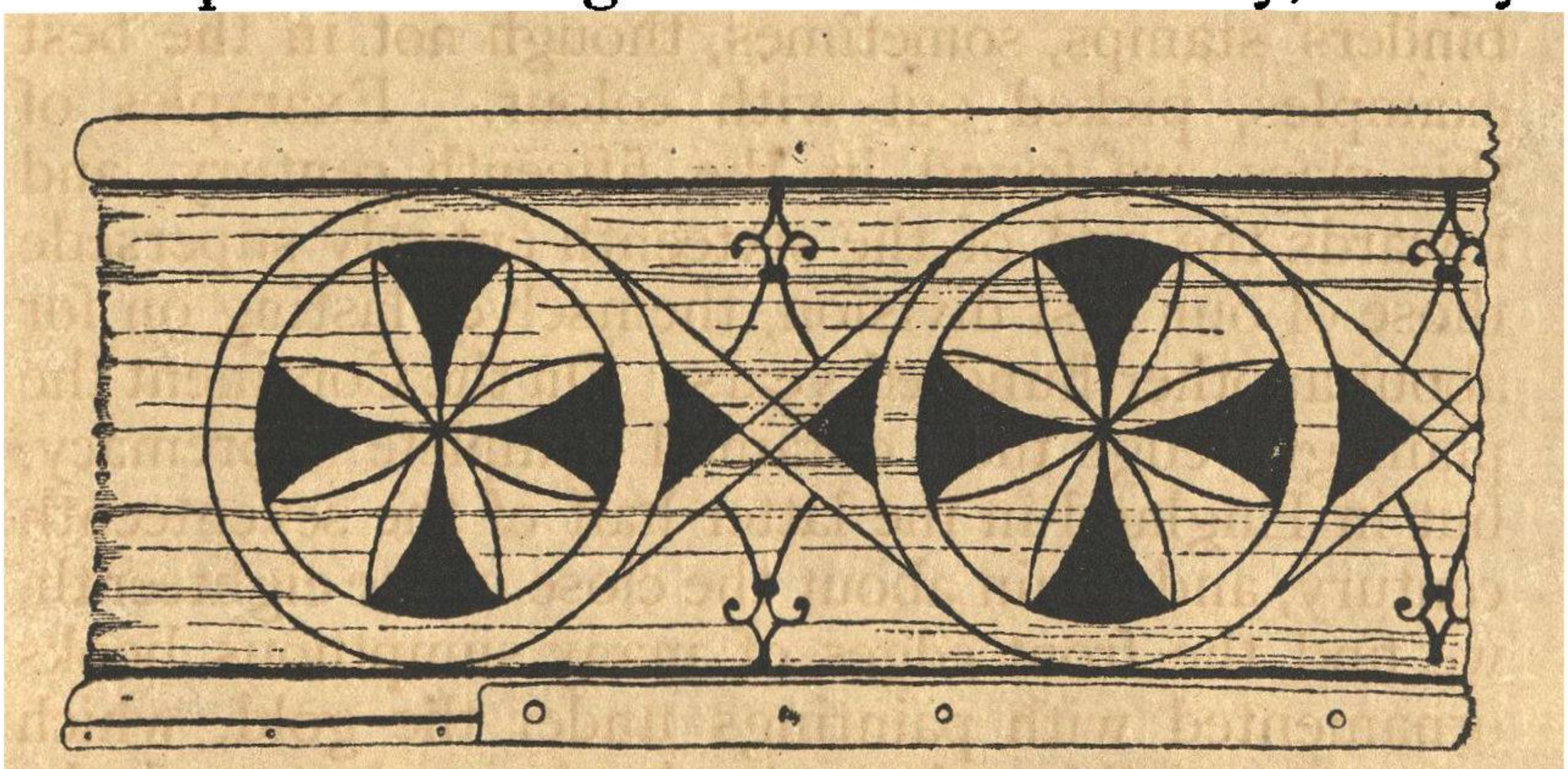


FIG. 1.—PART OF EDGE ON A GREEK MS. OF THE GOSPELS (TENTH CENTURY)

are much darkened inwards, which is generally a sign of great age. It is probable also that this fourteenth-century design followed to some extent a still earlier pattern. Part of the binding is a silver *repoussé* plate of Russian work, and the design on the edge may possibly have been painted in Russia. There are some letters on one of the edges, but unfortunately they are undecipherable.

A similar design of circles divided by a scroll, this time in slight colour, occurs in another Greek manuscript, in this case of the twelfth century,

which I have examined; but the volume has been rebound in Italy some time during the fifteenth century, and the edges have undoubtedly been recut, and the old design repainted on them. Paintings upon white or coloured edges do not seem to have found much favour with Italian artists, as they are rarely found. One, however, is mentioned by Mr. Horne in the valuable note upon painted edges in his *The Binding of Books* in the *Books about Books* series. This has blue edges with a gold pattern impressed upon them, and was printed at Venice in 1532. Another instance of Italian work is on the edges of a copy of Peter Lombard's *Libri Sententiarum*, printed at Venice in 1584, which has been rebound for Henry, Prince of Wales. The edges here are white, and on them are repeated paintings of two large coloured lilies or conventional flowers; on each of the upper and lower edges are two of these flowers, and three on the front edges. The binder who rebound the book for Prince Henry has fortunately left the edges untouched, although they are much disturbed by the re-sewing.

[ENGLAND.]—In England, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, painting upon white or coloured edges was evidently common, and many examples of it still exist. The earliest known to me is on one of the books bequeathed to the nation by Sir Hans Sloane in 1749. This is a remarkable volume in many ways. It is a Psalter written in the fourteenth century, and during the first half of the fifteenth century it belonged to Anne de Felbrigge, a nun in the convent of minoresses at Brusyard in Suffolk, and daughter of Sir Simon de Felbrigge, K.G., standard-bearer to Richard II. The book is in an embroidered cover, supposed to have

been worked by Anne herself, and the white edges are painted with the Felbrigge coat of arms, 'gules, a lion rampant, *or*,' and another coat 'azure, a fleur-de-lys, *or*,' repeated alternately and enclosed in a double line arranged diamond-wise (fig. 2).

FIG 2.

There are handsome heraldic white-edge paintings on some of Henry VIII.'s books, but they are in bad condition generally. The finest I have seen is on the edges of a Latin Bible, printed at Zurich in 1543. This is bound in faded crimson velvet, embroidered with scrolls and the king's initials in gold cord. The title-page is amplified with paintings in water colours, enclosing and supplementing the text in a very skilful way, and evidently by the same hand that painted the edges, as similar patterns occur in both. On the upper edge in the centre is a gold fleur-de-lys on a blue ground, enclosed in an eight-pointed circular frame; below, in a square panel, is a dove with outstretched wings; above, and surrounding both of these designs, are very graceful Renaissance arabesques, with figures, flowers, and ornamental foliated curves. On the front edge there may be said to be three larger designs joined by similar scrolls, figures, and curves to those on the upper edge. On the upper part is the Royal coat of arms of Henry VIII. in an oval scroll, crowned and enclosed in a wreath tied with white ribbon. Just

above this is a rectangular panel with a figure of God the Father within it. In the centre of the edge is an oblong rectangular panel which probably had the word 'Biblia' painted upon it in gold, as this pigment easily rubs off, and there is a similar panel on the title-page enclosing that word. In the lower part of the edge is a Tudor rose in a circle and below it again a square panel, the painting on which is gone.

On the lower edge has apparently been a portcullis in a circle, surrounded as before with scrolls, but this edge is badly worn from the book having been kept in an upright position for which it is too heavy, thus causing the leaves to sink and rest themselves on the shelf to the complete destruction of their beauty.

Another book which belonged to Henry VIII., a collection of sixteenth-century tracts, bound in crimson satin and handsomely embroidered with fine gold cords, has on its yellow edges, written in large gold capital letters, the motto 'Rex in Æternum Vive,' followed by the letters '*NEZ*.'[1]

Among Edward VI.'s books in the Royal Library is a small copy of Ptolemy's *Geografia*, printed at Venice in 1548, but bound in England. The edges are pale blue, with various heraldic designs painted on them. On the upper edge is the coat of France, three gold fleurs-de-lys on a blue ground, on the front edge is the Royal coat of arms of England, and on the lower edge the golden harp of Ireland on a dark blue ground. Each of these shields is flanked

[1] As I send this paper to press, I have had pointed out to me, in a Catalogue of Mr. Cornish of Manchester, an entry of a French manuscript (date about 1530), containing a treatise on Geometry, bound in white deerskin, with this same inscription on the edges, the mysterious letters being written *NEEZ* instead of *NEZ*. A suggested explanation of these letters by Mr. E. J. L. Scott is at least worth recording. The king to whom the phrase 'Rex in æternum vive' is addressed in the Book of Daniel is Nebuchadnezzar, and the initials *NEZ* might conceivably stand for Ναβουχοδονόσωρ ἐσαεί ζῆθι.

by the initials of the king, 'E. 6. R.', and the remaining space on each edge is filled up by a well-arranged black strap-work, wreathed with delicate gold scrolls (fig. 3).

Passing on to the reign of Elizabeth, we find that many of the queen's own books are decorated on the edges. As a rule they are gilded, but occasionally one is found painted on the uncoloured edge. We have an example of this latter kind in the black

FIG 3.—LOWER EDGE OF A COPY OF PTOLEMY'S *Geografia* (VENICE 1548), BOUND IN ENGLAND FOR EDWARD VI

arabesque, with the queen's initial in the centre enclosed in a gold Tudor rose, which decorates the edition of Valeriano Bolzani's *Hieroglyphica*, printed at Basle in 1556 (fig. 4). The date suggests that this example was executed early in the queen's reign, and by the time of her death the plain white or coloured edges in England appear to have given way entirely to the gilding, which by this time had become usual on the Continent.

[OTHER COUNTRIES.]—Of French work I have seen no edge-decoration except on gilded ground.

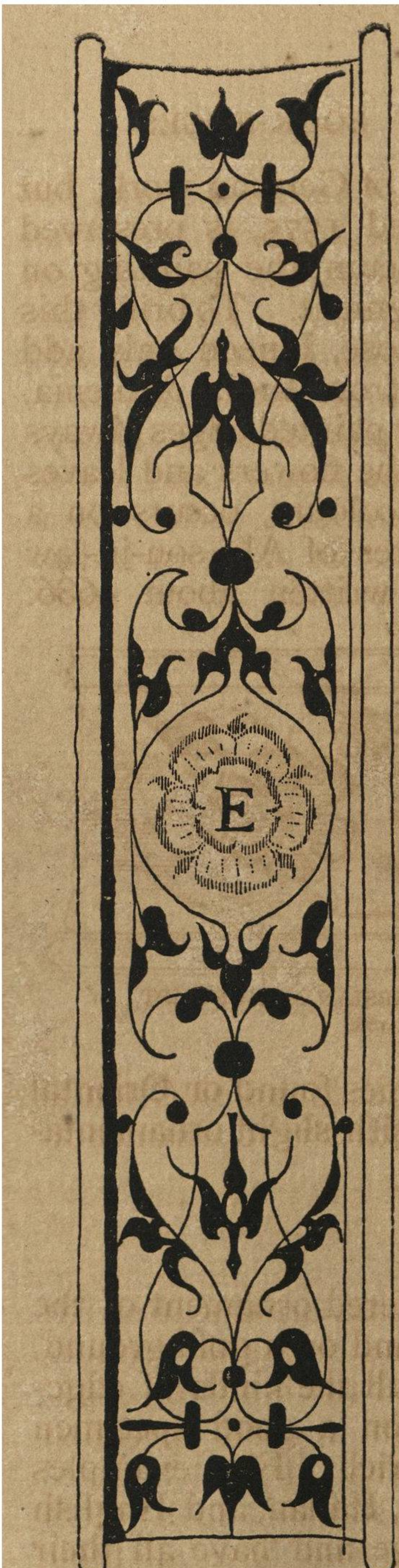


FIG. 4.—FRONT EDGE OF BOLZANI'S *HIEROGLYPHICA* (BASLE, 1556), BOUND IN ENGLAND FOR QUEEN ELIZABETH

FIG. 9.—FRONT EDGE OF *DER STAT NURMBERG VERNEUTE REFORMATION.* (FRANKFURT, 1566)

There are some few examples of German work, but they are very rare. One, dated 1575, is preserved in the South Kensington Museum, the painting on it representing the Day of Judgment. To bring this division of my subject to a close, I need only add that late Oriental manuscripts from India, Armenia, and Persia have often delicately painted edges always floral. One (fig. 5), in which the flowers and leaves are painted in their natural colours, occurs on a Persian poem on the adventures of Ali, son-in-law of the prophet Muhammad, written about 1686.

FIG. 5.—PORTION OF EDGE OF A PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT, WRITTEN ABOUT 1686

Coloured edges are also sometimes found on Oriental books of a much earlier date, with slight ornamentation near the head-band.

II

We now come to the gauffered ornament of the sixteenth century worked by hand on a gold ground, perhaps the most beautiful of all the kinds of edge-decoration, the play of light on a good specimen being extremely effective and rich. Fine examples are to be found among French, Italian, and English books, many of which are large and have all their edges closely covered with designs worked out in

dotted lines. The subsequent addition of colour marks the beginning of the decadence of the art, which becomes over elaborate and almost painfully brilliant in much of the later Dutch and German work. On the other hand, the subdued use of colour, frequently white, is often found on English gauffered edges of the time of Elizabeth, and sometimes with a decidedly pleasing effect.

[FRANCE.]—Gilding the edges of books was, I believe, first practised in France, and French binders have continued to decorate their finer books in this way ever since the middle of the fifteenth century. It is interesting to note that although gauffered edges without colour for a long time were paramount in France and Italy, and gradually became more coloured, yet in the beginning colour was freely used.

On a Franciscan missal of the Church of Mons, the conjectured date of which is about 1450, are painted on gold the badges and arms of the Bastard of Burgundy enclosed in a very elaborate floral spray border. The vellum edges are much worn, and I have not been able to trace the pattern sufficiently to enable me to draw it. It must originally have been very decorative, and suggests that, although few specimens of so early a date now survive, the art of edge-decoration on gold must have been even at that time well understood in France. There are in the British Museum a few other gilt and coloured edges of French work of a little later date, leading well on to the end of the century when gilt edges both in France and Italy were common enough.

It is well known that the great majority of fine books belonging to Henry VII., which came to the

British Museum as part of the old Royal Library, were printed and ornamented for him in France. A vellum copy of the *Sarum Missal*, printed by Martin Morin at Rouen in 1497, bears evidence of having originally belonged to this collection in the arms of England painted on the title-page. It passed, however, probably by gift from Queen Mary, into the possession of Cardinal Pole, and only rejoined its fellows when it was purchased for the Museum. This has been rebound, but by an un-

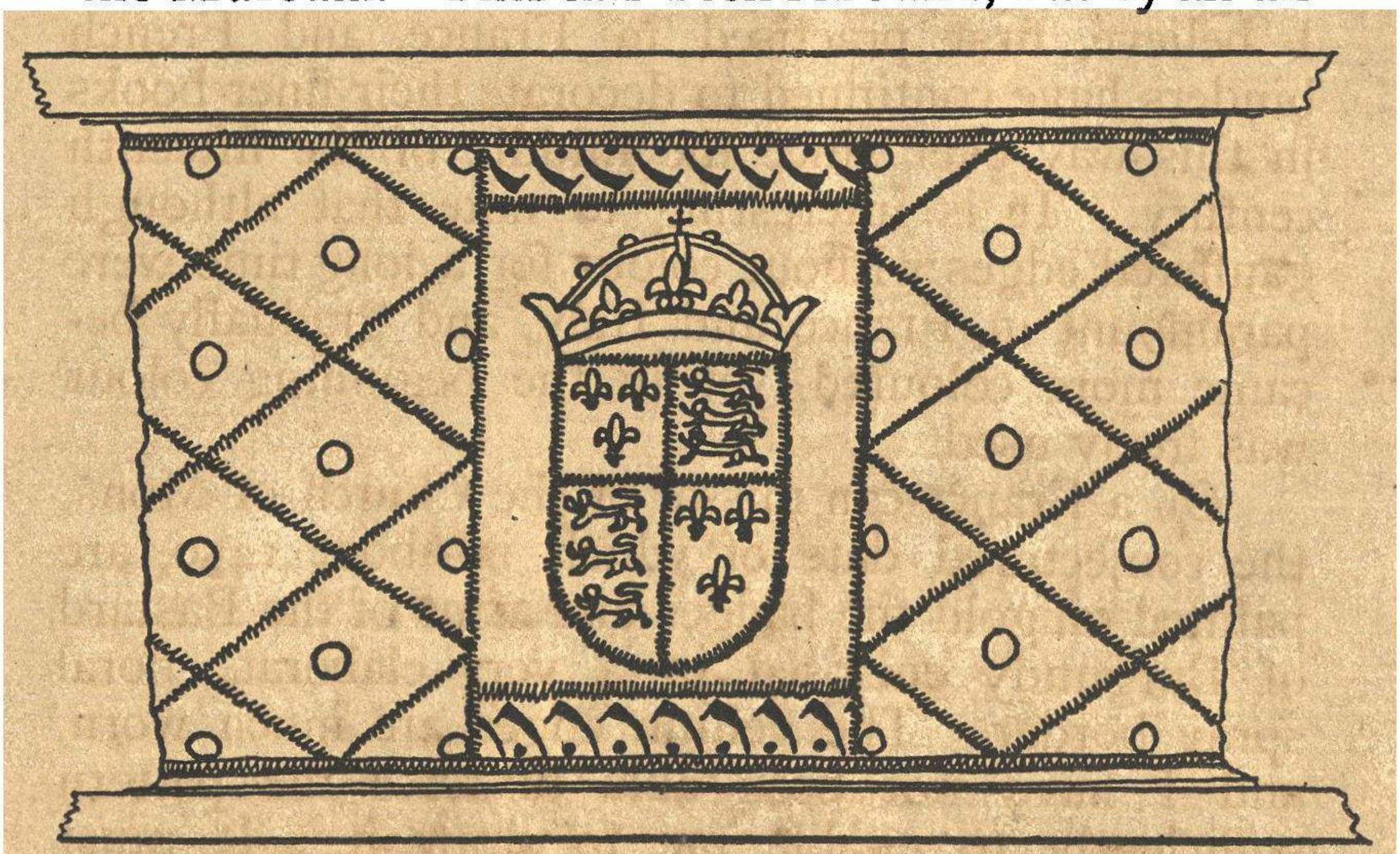


FIG. 6.—PORTION OF EDGE OF *SARUM MISSAL* (ROUEN, 1497), DECORATED IN FRANCE, PROBABLY FOR HENRY VII

usual good fortune the edges were spared, perhaps because there are some tags projecting from the front which would have given trouble to the edge-cutter. On the gilt edges, front, upper and lower, are the Royal arms of England in a rectangular panel, the remainder of the space being filled with a small diamond pattern with a circle in the centre of each, all worked by hand (fig. 6).

Louis XII. of France ascended the throne the

year after Cardinal Pole's book was printed, and the edges of many of his books are gauffered in a similar manner. Specimens of these are figured in Gruel's *Manuel du Libraire*. Even after a considerable interval we find a closely similar design on the edge of a book bound by Geoffroy Tory, engraver and printer to Francis I., with his well-known *pot-cassé* on the covers, so that the style clearly remained popular in France for some time (fig. 7).

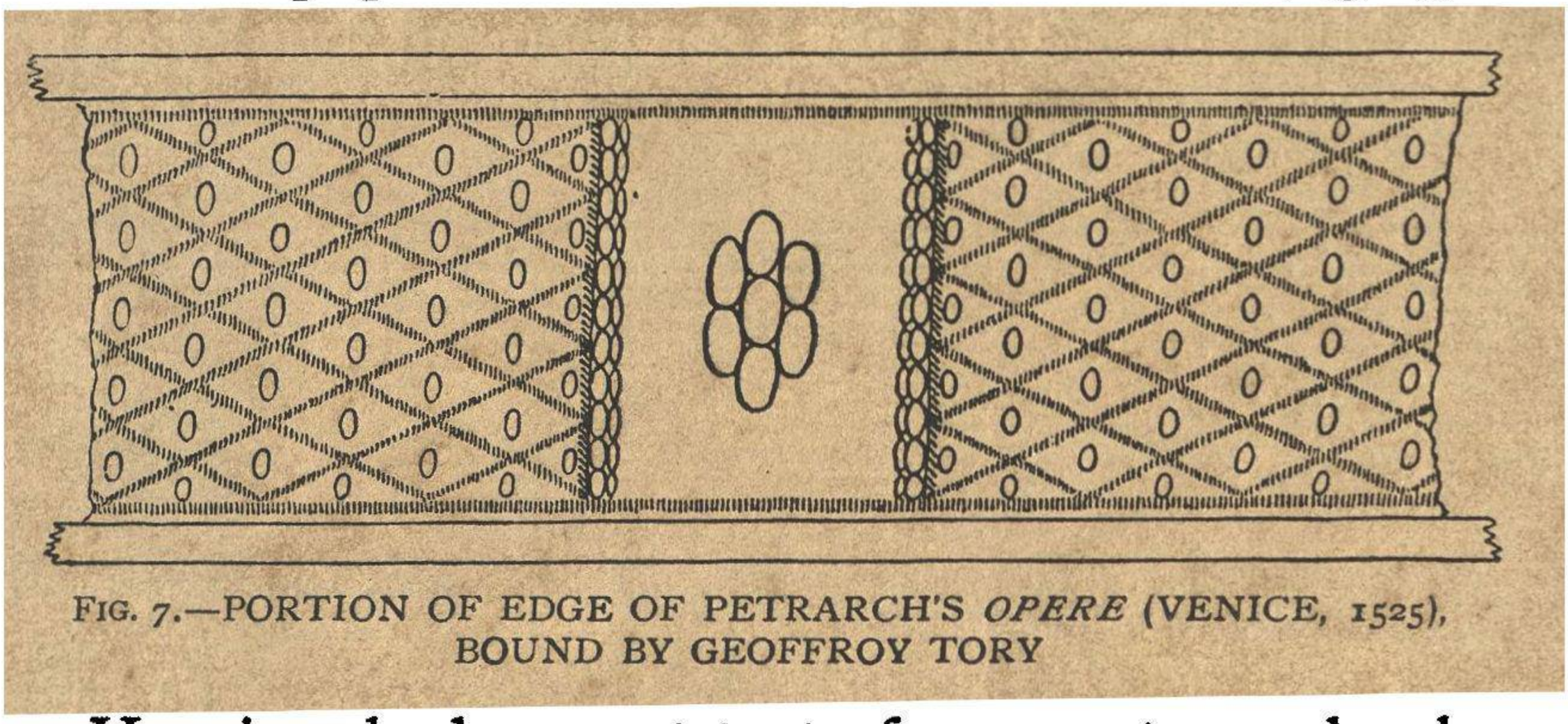


FIG. 7.—PORTION OF EDGE OF PETRARCH'S *OPERE* (VENICE, 1525), BOUND BY GEOFFROY TORY

Henri II. had a great taste for sumptuous books, and on several of those that belonged to him are found very beautiful edges. They are, as far as I know, always gilt without colour, and vary from rich elaboration to severe simplicity. An instance of the former style occurs on a copy, now in poor condition, of the *Coustumes du Bailliage de Sens*, printed there in 1556. A still more beautiful edge, and in an almost perfect state, is found on a copy of Cardinal Bembo's *History of Venice*, printed at Venice in 1551. This bears the king's crowned initials and emblems on the binding, as also the intertwined crescent badge of Diane de Poictiers. (Plate XVII*a*.)

The binding itself is a remarkable one, though it has suffered severely under the hands of an

incompetent restorer, who luckily left the edges alone. All of these, top, front, and lower, are worked entirely with binding gouges, the pattern being what is called 'made up' with these gouges and binding stamps. The enclosing pattern is the same on all the edges, and is outlined in curves and angular panels. In each panel is stamped the crowned initial of the king, and in each alternate curved space a fleur-de-lys. The whole design is a charming example of the use of binding tools and stamps on a gilt edge, and is planned with taste and skill.

The decorative designs occurring on the books bound for Henri II. and for Diane de Poictiers are often the same. Diane's crescents, bows, and initials are found on the king's books, and Henri's crowned initials and Royal coat of arms are found on the Duchess's books. There will always be some controversy as to the exact significance of the D's *adossés* with a bar across them, as this monogram may stand for Henri and Diane, or for Henri Deux. But when the D's are found without the bar, by the addition of which they form an H, there is, I think, no doubt that 'Diane' alone was the owner of the book. The initials without the bar are found impressed on the edge of a copy of Moschopulus *De ratione examinandæ orationis libellus*, printed at Paris in 1545. The binding is a very fine one, although much damaged by 'restoration,' and the edges are gilded and beautifully worked in dots by hand. The patterns on all the edges are different, graceful arabesques enclosing initials and badges. On the top edge are the two D's as a centre ornament (Plate XVII*b*), on the front edge a large H, and on the lower edge the binding stamp of three intertwined crescents.

Like the king and Diane de Poictiers, Catherine de' Medici, amid all her intrigues, still found time to pay some attention to the binding and ornamentation of her books, many of them being very decorative in their appearance and finished in the best manner of the time. The edges on some of her books are not only gilded but coloured as well, a rare thing in France at this period, though common enough later on. The colour, however, is very slight, resembling indeed the delicate tints which are often found on English work of about the same date.

A copy of the *Opera* of Dionysius in three volumes, printed at Paris in 1561, which belonged at one time to Catherine, is enclosed in a very beautiful binding coloured by hand, having also the queen's coat of arms painted in the centre. On the edges is an arabesque pattern outlined in dots, the design being slightly coloured with a very pale pink. (Plate XVII*c*.)

Books that have been the property of Francis II. are very rare, especially out of France, and the only one I know in the British Museum is a collection of sixteenth-century theological tracts that belonged to him when dauphin.

It is bound in black calf, and on its gilt edges in dotted lines are the words 'Jesus Victor Magnificus.'

Le Gascon, although as a general rule he used plain gilt edges for his sometimes exquisite bindings, at rare times indulged in colour as well. On a copy of Chacon's *Historia Belli Dacici*, printed at Rome in 1616, and bound by him in a most elaborate mosaic binding, the gilt edges are gauffered and coloured in a very graceful floral pattern. Since this time, about the end of the seventeenth century,

the French binders abandoned almost entirely the decorated edge work, and appear to have satisfied themselves by producing plain gilt edges of the greatest perfection of finish, in which art they have for some time stood unrivalled. These later edges have frequently marbled work underneath the gold.

[ITALY.]—Gilt edges in Italy began to be used, as in France, during the fifteenth century, but, as far as I can trace, a little later on in it. At all events I know of no undoubtedly unrestored Italian gilt and gauffered edge earlier than that on the beautiful vellum copy of Livy, printed by Sweynheim and Pannartz at Rome about 1469. This copy belonged to Alexander VI., and the edge apparently has not been altered from its original state. It is elaborately stamped with the cable pattern, frequently found on Italian bindings of this and later times, filled in and amplified with smaller decorations. (Plate XVIII*a*.)

The vellum presentation copy to the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo of the edition of Euclid's Geometry in Latin, printed at Venice by Ratdolt in 1482, has a gilt edge with a pattern stamped upon it with small and large circles. The pattern is now difficult to trace, as the book has been rebound, but sufficient remains to show that it was a curious and original one. It may date from the time when the book was first bound, possibly by Ratdolt himself. There are numerous examples of gauffered work on gilt edges in books printed in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Most of these have some modification of the cable pattern, or the knot found on early Italian binding, which is supposed to be of an Oriental origin. Many of these edges on small books, printed by Aldus and Giunta particularly, are especially pleasing.

On the Italian gilt edges, the use of binding stamps, combined with small and large rings, is very general; actual handwork, so common on French and English work of the same date, being almost unknown. In later Italian work, some colour is found; the designs, however, are not so pure as in the earlier examples. I have chosen, as a specimen of this work, the edge of a copy of missals of the Augustinian Friars, printed in Venice in 1560, in which the outlines of the pattern is marked in dots in the leaves or petals coloured alternately red and blue (fig. 8).

FIG 8.—FRONT EDGE OF MISSALS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN FRIARS. (VENICE 1560.)

[ENGLAND.]—Returning to England, among Henry VIII.'s own books I have found no instance of a gilt edge, but those of some of his queens had them. On a New Testament belonging to Anne Boleyn, is her title, 'Anna Regina Angliæ,' written in red upon a gilt edge, and bordered with a gauffered pattern. On Katherine Parr's copy of Petrarch's works, printed at Venice in 1544, and bound in an embroidered cover bearing her coat of arms, is a pattern outlined in small circles by hand upon an edge that once was gold, but is now only 'gold grounding.' There are several cases of plain gilt edges in bindings by Thomas Berthelet, but without any decorative work on them. During the time of Elizabeth, the gilded and painted edges became very

common, and their execution reached a high degree of excellence. A remarkably fine example occurs in one of Elizabeth's own copies of Peter Martyr's Commonplaces (Plate XVIII*b*), printed in London in 1583. On this beautiful book, which is bound in deep purple velvet, embroidered in silver thread and wire, the edge is worked entirely by hand, and the design is characteristic of the best English work in this particular direction.

But in the reign of Elizabeth the taste for magnificence in binding was by no means confined to Royal books, and we know of many examples of very fine work, more especially in embroidery, which belonged to private owners. One such is a Bible printed at Antwerp in 1590, but bound in England in deep green velvet, thickly embroidered with pearls, on the edges of which is a very delicately worked arabesque pattern in dots. In the centre of the front edge is a design of two clasped hands and a heart, with the initials T. G., probably those of a former owner, as they occur also on the binding. There is slight colour used over the gold. On other embroidered bindings of Elizabeth's time simpler patterns are found, a favourite one being made up of semi-circles.

No great change took place in the style of edge-decoration during the first half of the seventeenth century,[1] and, though gauffered edges are found on a few embroidered books of later date, they become very rare, and this form of ornament appears to have speedily died out after the Commonwealth.

[1] In my paper on the 'Little Gidding Bindings' I have already fully described the very remarkable edges of two books which may have been bound, or rebound, by the Sisters.

These two volumes are the only instances of which I know of English gilt edge-decoration worked entirely with binding stamps, except some quite late specimens by Charles Lewis, executed at a time when book edge-decoration as a fine art was already extinct.

[GERMANY.]—German binders adopted the gilt gauffered edges towards the end of the sixteenth century, and never, it seems to me, with much success. They used binding stamps, occasionally combined with handwork, and used colour much more freely. Many of the German edges are remarkably firm, looking almost like pieces of solid wood; many of them have elaborate biblical scenes outlined in dotted work and thickly coloured. This species of design alternates with heraldic work, and generally this latter is far the best.

I have chosen as a very favourable example the edge of a book (fig. 9) containing an account of the city of Nuremburg, printed at Frankfurt in 1566. On the edge, which is gauffered entirely by hand, are the three coats consecutively borne by the city; there is slight colour both on the coats and in the background. For convenience of printing my illustration will be found placed with fig. 4 on an earlier page.

[HOLLAND.]—In Holland, binding and the decoration of books have received much attention, and among Dutch binders, Magnus of Amsterdam, perhaps the most successful imitator of Le Gascon, takes the first rank. With his seventeenth-century bindings may often be found edge-painting of a similar character to that done in Germany, but, as far as I know, the designs used are always religious.

III

In the middle of the seventeenth century a remarkable and novel departure in the manner of decorating the edge of a book began in England.

Each of the three volumes of a copy of John

C R

Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, printed at London in 1641, bears on its edges a portrait of Charles II. in an oval, enclosed above and below with floral sprays. (Plate XIX*a*.)

The king appears as a young man, crowned and wearing an ermine mantle, his initials are painted in gold on each side. The flowers above him are a rose and a thistle; those below differ in each volume. The paintings are signed 'Fletcher,' and this is, as far as I am aware, the earliest example of this curious art. In order to see the work properly, a book on which one of these paintings occurs must be laid down flat open, with the front edge towards the light. The sides and back of the book must be gently pressed upon the table, leaving all the leaves fanned out and resting upon the lower board (fig. 10). When this is done the painting starts out in its proper colours and the gilding disappears. In a fine specimen the work is very effective, and it possesses the added charm of a constantly changing appearance.

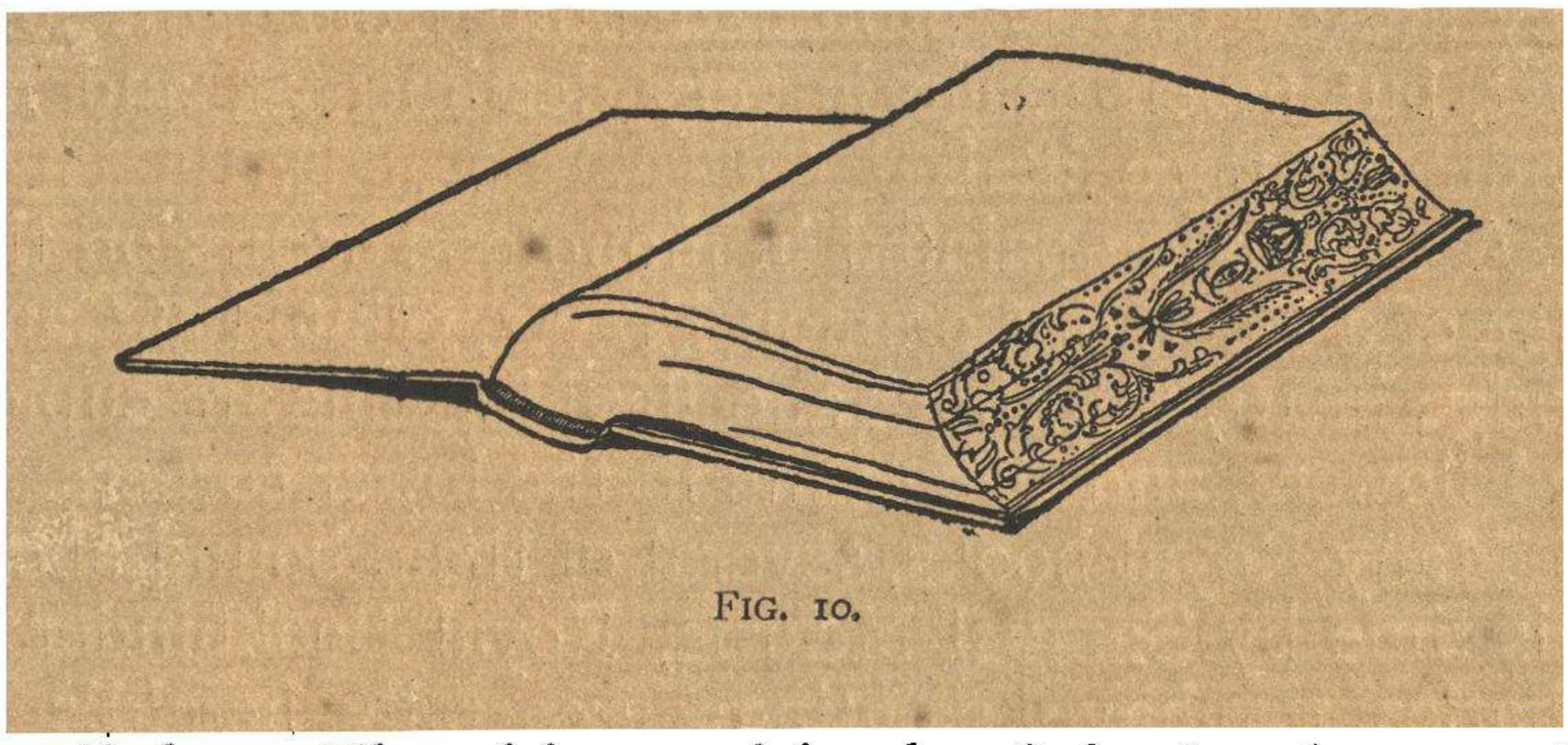


FIG. 10.

Although from the earliest times the English edge-decorators employed chiefly heraldic motives, yet they sometimes used religious designs similar to those which at a later date became the favourite themes of German and Dutch binders. An excel-

lent specimen of this kind is on the edge of a Book of Common Prayer, printed at London in 1662. The binding of the book is highly ornamental, being inlaid with coloured leather and richly gilded. The front edge is divided horizontally into five divisions, each of which is boldly painted, on the lower two are depicted the Agony and Betrayal, in the centre compartment a large Crucifixion, and in the two upper the Ascension and Resurrection. The painting is in excellent condition. In fact it may be often said of edges of this kind which have not been subjected to actual hard usage, that they are as bright as when first done, the fact being that they are effectively protected both from light and dust, but much usage is very detrimental, and rebinding at once fatal.

A crucifixion painted in monotone occurs on the edge of a Book of Common Prayer, printed at Cambridge in 1670. Above and flanking this are cupids and flowers, and two saints in the lower corners.

Many Royal books, several of them bound about this time by Samuel Mearne, Royal Bookbinder to Charles II., have paintings, generally heraldic in character, on their front edges. One such ornaments the edges of a Prayer Book, printed in London in 1669. This book was bound, presumably by Mearne, for the king, and is a magnificent specimen of English gold stamped work. I have chosen it as a specimen of the position in which one of these books should be placed in order to see the edge. The centre of the design is the king's crowned monogram, enclosed between two palm branches. This design is commonly found in the bindings done for Charles II. Above and below this central design are golden scrolls and coloured flowers.

Another Prayer Book, also bound for the king, printed at Oxford in 1681, has on its front edge the Royal coat of arms with sprays of flowers above and below it (Plate XIX*b*), but the finest of all the edges of this time has, unluckily, been much injured by ill-usage. This occurs on a large Bible printed at Oxford in 1685; it is very indistinct in places, but not so bad that the entire design cannot be readily followed. It bears in the centre the Royal coat of arms with supporters and crest, and the motto is a cartouche, all in proper colours. Flanking this are two cupids bearing garlands of flowers tied with blue ribbons, and above and below are elaborate paintings of flower groups and garlands.

A note at the beginning, signed 'G. Sarum,' describes this book as being that which 'lay before His Majesty above two years in the closet of his chappell,' and it was afterwards the property of the Archbishop of Canterbury and then of the Bishop himself.

Between the date of this Bible and that of the books bound by James Edwards of Halifax, a period of nearly eighty years, I know of no examples of the art of edge-decoration. Edwards, however, re-introduced it with great success. He was the inventor of an interesting way of rendering vellum transparent, and he painted several bindings, generally with coats of arms and various Etruscan borders, and covered them with this transparent vellum. The edges of most of these books are delicately and tastefully painted, most likely by Edwards himself. A fine example that is now in the British Museum is a copy of a Prayer Book, printed at Cambridge in 1760, which belonged to Charlotte of Mecklenburg, Queen of George III., whose arms are on the outside, and crowned initials

painted in silver inside the upper cover. On the front edge, in an oval, is a painting of the Resurrection. Above this oval is a trellis-work, in the diamond spaces of which are winged cherubs, and below it is a similar trellis-work, but in the spaces are only winged cherubs' heads (Plate xx*a*). The work is far more delicate than that in earlier examples, colour being used sparingly and with charming effect. Other bindings of Edwards' have landscapes and sylvan scenes, sometimes with figures (Plate xx*b*). It is probable that to Edwards' initiative we owe the introduction of the landscape on edges, as before his time it appears to be unknown.

John Whitaker, who stained his calf bindings in various curious ways, also used painted edges of a like kind to Edwards', whose examples he followed, and on numberless small books dating from the end of the last century to the present day landscape paintings occur. Windsor Castle is a favourite subject, and so is Eton College, and besides these there are views of country houses and the like.

The fashion, however, has now died out, though it was revived by Mr. Luker for the decoration of the edges of certain copies of Mr. Loftie's *Kensington*, printed in 1883.

In the execution of these paintings, which are done in water-colours, there is no great difficulty when the book is placed in the proper position with weights to keep it firm. The colour should be used as dry as possible, and the brush always be worked in the direction the leaves are lying. If the painting is done on an edge that is already gilded, it will be necessary to shut the book up very tightly when the work is done, and gently

clean the gold with a slightly damped sponge, as there will be some specks if colour run a little over the edge.

CYRIL DAVENPORT.

PUCKLE'S 'CLUB'

"A WELL-BRED man," says Sir James Puckle in his *Grey Cap for a Green Head*, "will never give himself the liberty to speak ill of Women."' Apart from its commendable sentiment, this quotation, employed by Poe in opening his review of Mrs. Browning, deserves to be recorded,—even though it should dignify the author of *The Club* (of which the above is but the sub-title) with a posthumous knighthood. In a general dearth of information, almost any stray reference is welcome. And certainly, for a writer who, more than a century after the date of his first appearance, received all the honours of 'Chinese paper,' coloured ink, and impressions on satin, the fame of James Puckle has suffered unmerited eclipse. 'It was intended'—says the Preface to the issue of 1817—'to attach to this Edition a *Sketch of the Author's Life*, and in

apology for its omission, the Reader is informed, that, every probable source of information having been searched, no Memoir or Account can be obtained that may be depended upon.' We are not much better instructed in the present year of grace. It is true that the same Preface mentions two of Puckle's earlier essays, *Englana's Interest* [1696] and *England's Way to Wealth and Honour* [1699], as being in the British Museum; and it might, without much expenditure of research, have added that he was a Notary Public, since—to say nothing of the initials appended to his portrait in the third and fourth editions of *The Club*—that fact is established in one of the works above mentioned, which the Preface-writer of 1817 was apparently too dispirited to consult. Fortunately a critic in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1822, was more adventurous, and promptly discovered from a passage at the end of the earlier pamphlet, that Puckle was a partner in the firm of Puckle and Jenkins, 'Publick Notaries in *Pope's-head-alley* over against the Royal Exchange.' The same inquirer further ascertained, from the Rev. Mark Noble's continuation of Granger's *Biographical History* (vol. iii. p. 363), that Puckle, as 'a notary-public *in* chambers, possessed, at one time, great reputation for integrity; but probably the love of scribbling seduced him from what was more proper for his situation, than becoming a writer *out* of his chambers.' There is an accent of suppressed detraction about this utterance, but it is too vague to be injurious.

After the efforts of Sylvanus Urban in 1822, Oblivion seems again to have scattered her poppy over Puckle's shadowy and fugitive personality. Nothing of importance was added to his biography

by Singer's reprint of *The Club* in 1834; and it was not until 1889 that he was once more revealed in *Notes and Queries* under the new and unexpected aspect of a South Sea projector. In an engraved broadside upon which that unwearied investigator, Mr. Eliot Hodgkin of Richmond, happened at Paris, he figures as the inventor of what reads like an anticipation of the Maxim or Nordenfeldt gun. The piece of ordnance described must have been a sort of magnified revolver, mounted on a tripod. Its breech was turned by hand, and contained six chambers. These, the contents of which were successively discharged through a single long barrel, were removable, so that when one class of missiles had been expended, another kind could be substituted for it. And here comes in the 'taste and fancy' of Puckle. 'One set,' says Mr. Hodgkin, 'is depicted as intended for a "ship shooting Round Bullets against Christians"; a second as one for "shooting Square Bullets against Turks."' The apparatus was also available for grenades, and was styled—

A DEFENCE.

'Defending King George your Country and Lawes
Is Defending Yourselves and Protestant Cause.
Invented by Mr. James Puckle
For Bridges, Breaches, Lines and Passes,
Ships, Boats, Houses, and other Places.'

'Puckle's Machine,' as it was popularly christened, did not escape the graphic satirist of 1720. In a South Sea squib, published by Bowles of St. Paul's Churchyard, and called the *Bubler's Mirrour: or England's Folley*, being 'A List of the Bubbles, with the prices they were Subscrib'd at and what each sold when highest. Together w^th^ *Satyrical Eppigrams*

upon each by ye Author of ye S-Sea Ballad,' the shares are said to have been paid in at £4 and sold at £8, which must have been profitable to Puckle. The *Satyrical Eppigram* is as follows:—

> 'A rare invention to Destroy the Crowd,
> Of Fools at Home instead of Foes Abroad:
> Fear not my Freinds, this Terrible Machine,
> They 're only Wounded that have Shares therein.'

Beyond Mr. Hodgkin's treasure-trove, the only minor reference to Puckle we have personally been able to trace is contained in an advertisement inserted in the original issue of the *Spectator* for June 25, 1712 (No. 414). This—which is sandwiched between the announcement of 'a parcel of very fresh and fashionable Mechlin Lace,' and another of the selling off of a stock of 'Watered Tabbies, Farendines [?], Silk Night Gowns,' and the like—chronicles the loss, 'in or near' Mr. Edward Smith's house at Iver by Uxbridge, of a necklace of about sixty or seventy Oriental pearls. If offered for sale, purchasers are invited to 'stop it and the Party,[1] and give notice to Mr. James Puckle, a Notary Publick in Pope's head Alley in Cornhill.' The reward offered is Five Guineas; but it is significantly added that 'if the Person that has it will bring or send it to the same place he shall have the same reward, and no Questions ask'd.'

The literary master-piece of James Puckle, Moralist, Notary Public, Projector, and Lost-Property Agent, is a modest 12mo of 78 pages, bearing the date of 1711, the year of the establishment of the *Spectator* aforesaid. Its full title is: '*The Club: or, A Dialogue between Father and Son.*

[1] Dean Alford found instances of what he calls this 'especially offensive' use of 'party' in *Tobit* (vi. 7), and the *Tempest* (Act iii. sc. 2). Here is an eighteenth-century example.

In Vino Veritas. London: Printed for the Author; and Sold by S. Crouch, at the Corner of Pope's head Ally in Cornhil. 1711.' The Author's name, as will be observed, does not appear; but at the back of the title-page is the following votive inscription: 'To Micajah Perry, Esq.; and the fragrant Memory of Thomas Lane, Esq.; deceas'd; and to Mr. Richard Perry, of London; Merchants: The following Dialogue (as a *Pepper-Corn Acknowledgment*) is humbly Dedicated, by *Their most Oblig'd, and most Obedient Servant*, JAMES PUCKLE.' Facing this dedication comes the Preface, which in the first edition began thus:—

'No sooner had *Erasmus* put forth his excellent Enchiridion, but one cries, there's more Devotion in the Book than in the Writer.

'He that turns Author, or sets up for Knight of the Shire, must expect to have all his Faults publish'd with Additions.

'Should any say, The Writer is an *Argus* abroad, a *Mole* at home.

'Its easily answer'd, *Moses* himself might take good Counsel from a *Midianite*.'

These sententious 'fore-words,'—omitted no doubt in view of the success of the volume—are not to be found in the later issues, for an account of which we are chiefly indebted to a contribution made to *Notes and Queries* in March, 1872, by an obvious expert in Puckle, who affirms that he had inspected all the impressions he specifies, that of 1723 excepted.[1] According to this authority, there

[1] The initials of this contributor were 'G. S. S.' Since this paper was completed, we have learnt, through the medium of Mr. Bertram Dobell's valuable *Catalogue of a Collection of Privately Printed Books*, that they are those of the late G. Steinman Steinman, who, in 1872, printed his researches privately as a small pamphlet of 20 pages, entitled *The Author of 'The Club' Identified.* Apart from the bibliographical data already employed, the harvest is a modest one. But Mr. Steinman goes with great minuteness into the Puckle genealogy, and proves that Puckle was married twice, had several children, and died in July 1724,—being buried in the burial-ground of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. Mr. Steinman naturally travels over much of the

was a second issue of the book in 1711; and there were two in 1713, one of which is 'lettered 3rd ed.' In 1721 came a Cork reprint of this last; then followed a 4th edition of 1723 (with supplementary 'Maxims, Advice and Cautions,' etc.); then two of 1733 'lettered 5th edit.'; then one without date, also 'lettered 5th ed.'; and finally a Dublin issue of 1743 described as the 7th edition. With the issues of the present century we may, for the moment, dispense. The sub-title of 'A Grey-Cap for a Green-Head' was, apparently, first added in the impression of 1723; and in the same impression, the dedication to the three Virginia merchants was altered and enlarged to suit the fact that, by this time, both the Perrys, as well as Thomas Lane, were dead. The edition of 1713 contained a portrait of the author by Vertue after Kneller's rival, J. B. Clostermann, who died in that year. In the 1723 edition the same portrait was re-engraved by J. Cole. It represents a middle-aged worthy of the ordinary eighteenth-century type, wearing what his contemporary, Mr. Isaac Bickerstaff of the *Tatler*, calls 'a fair full-bottomed Periwig.'

From these purely bibliographical details, however, it is time to turn to Puckle's book itself, the scheme of which is of the simplest. The Father of the Dialogue leads off by asking his Son what made him so late the night before. The Son replies that he went with a friend to his (the friend's) club at the *Noah's Ark*—a supposititious hostelry which the antiquary may, if he please, identify with that famous Pope's Head Tavern in Pope's Head Alley,

ground covered by this paper, and has enabled us to correct two slight misstatements as to Vertue's print of Puckle. He seems to have anticipated Mr. Hodgkin's 'Puckle's Machine,' but he makes no reference to the *Bubler's Mirrour*, or the *Spectator* advertisement. Mr. Steinman was the historian of Croydon, and the author of one or two more pamphlets of interest in Mr. Dobell's list.

once frequented by Pepys, where, seven years after the appearance of Puckle's *editio princeps*, Quin had the ill-luck, in a quarrel forced upon him, to kill his would-be rival, the Irishman Bowen. After a summary description of the guests who, in the low-pitched close-smelling room, sit drinking each other's healths 'over the left Thumb,' the Son proceeds to characterise them methodically in the manner of Theophrastus. This he does, not only individually, but alphabetically, *e.g.* Antiquary, Buffoon, Critic, Detractor, Envioso, Flatterer, Gamester, and so forth,—the twenty-four letters ending, as in duty bound, with Zany, the Vintner or landlord. As each portrait is finished, the Father, who must have had either much learning or a preternatural memory, makes aphoristic and edifying comment upon the personage portrayed, quoting freely from the Bible, 'St. Austin,' Bishop Sanderson, Montaigne, Mazarin, and other sources. This, in the original editions, he does in abrupt oracular sentences. As thus: The Son says of his Antiquary, that 'he pity'd the Ignorance of Modern Writers, and scorn'd to read any Book less than an Hundred Years old.' To this his Elder (who is obviously of the losing camp in the great controversy) replies severely that 'too servile a Submission to the Books and Opinions of the Ancients, has spoil'd many an Ingenious Man and plagu'd the World with Abundance of Pedants and Coxcombs.' Occasionally his deliverances have something of the neatness of a French *pensée*. 'He whose Jests make others afraid of his Wit,' he says of Buffoon, 'had need be afraid of their Memory.' Not a few of the old gentleman's 'wise saws and modern instances,' it has been pointed out, are to be found in previous writers,—and it has been noted that his Antiquary,

for instance, suggests the Antiquaries of Butler, and Earle (of the *Microcosmographie*). But 'it's easily answered,' to use his own form of apology, that Earle and Overbury, as well as their common predecessor, Bishop Hall, in his *Characters of Vertues and Vices*, 1608, all copied, in their turns, from Theophrastus; and it is quite conceivable that the Pope's Head Alley philosopher did not so much aim at absolute originality as at apposite recollection; and that a considerable amount of his proverbial wisdom is the mere hiving of a common-place book.[1] Concerning another charge which has been made against the author of *The Club*, to wit, that he must have been a misogynist, because there is but one lady in his gallery, namely, Xantippe, the wife of Newsmonger, we hold it to be 'not proven.' For even if the insinuation were not opposed to the praiseworthy utterance with which this paper opens, it is sufficiently negatived by the fact that one scarcely looks for women in a last-century Club of men.'

But it may be well to give a sample of the Puckle method, and his 'Critic' is perhaps as good a specimen as any. In this instance there is no recollection of Earle, whose type is the senseless scholiast—the 'bookful blockhead, ignorantly read,' with whom we meet in Pope. Neither is Puckle's portrait marked by the delightful 'impertinencies' of that fatuous Tom Folio whose masterly 'kit-cat' had then so recently been drawn in the *Tatler*. The 'Critic' of *The Club* belongs to a humbler variety. He is simply the mechanical fault-finder—the 'voluntary Mole' of Addison, congenitally beauty-

[1] He admits as much in the 'Preface' to an additional chapter, on 'Death,' in the 4th ed. of 1723, adding—'If the physick be proper, no matter what country produced the ingredients, nor who made up the dose.'

blind, who, 'wise enough (in his own Conceit) to correct the *Magnificat*,' presumes to censure Cicero for verbosity and Virgil for rustic language.

'PLATO (he told us) was neither Fertile, nor copious; *Aristotle* neither Solid, nor Substantial; and *Theophrastus* neither Smooth, nor Agreeable.

'THAT *Voiture* was dull, *Corneille* a Stranger to the Passions, *Racine* starch'd and Affected, *Moliere* jejune, and *Boileau* little better than a Plagiary.

'THAT *Shakespear* wanted Manners, *Ben. Johnson* was a Pedant, *Congreve* a laborious Writer, and *Garth* but an indifferent Imitator of *Boileau*.

'THAT *Dryden's Absalom*, and *Achitophel*, was a Poem [that] wanted Vigour of Thought, Purity of Language, and Aptness and Propriety of Expression; nor were many of the Elisions to be allow'd, or Accents and Pauses duly observ'd.

'AN Instance being requir'd; *Critticone* hung his Ears, and fell a cursing his Memory.'

This description naturally affords the didactic commentator an opportunity of saying several improving things. But none of his bursts of 'scattered sapience' is more to the point than the old-new illustration with which he concludes. It is borrowed from the *Ragguagli di Parnasso* of Trajan Boccalini, a revised translation of which, under the title of *Advices from Parnassus*, had been issued a few years earlier (1706) by John Hughes of the *Spectator*. '*A Critic, presenting* Apollo *with a very severe Censure upon an Excellent Poem, was ask'd for the good Things in that Work: But the Wretch answering, He minded only its Errors;* Apollo *order'd a Sack of unwinnowed Wheat to be brought, and Critic to pick out and take all the Chaff for his Pains.*'

In such a motley collection as Puckle's, one

looks naturally—as in Overbury—for some of those minute chance touches of local colouring which help to reveal the manners of the times. But in this respect his pages are disappointing. Once, in the case of 'Quack,' who is introduced 'with a supercilious Brow, Ebony Cane, and Band in Querpo,' a costume-piece (which is not achieved) appears to be impending. 'Youth,' again, is rather elaborately described at the outset as a 'Mushroom-Squire,' 'accouter'd with a large Muff, long Peruke, dangling Cane, Sword, Snuff-Box, Diamond-Ring, Pick-tooth-Case, Silk Handkerchief, &c., all of the newest Fashion.' Also he is stated to have been in the habit of throwing back his wig 'to discover the fine Ring in his Ear.' Beyond these, however, there is little indication of the dress or outward appearance of the company, of whose doings what approaches closest to a 'conversation' is contained under the heading of 'Gamester.' Gamester,—a 'pretty Fellow' whose chief care in life is to keep himself clear-headed enough to cheat his fellow-creatures at cards,—comes to the Club about ten, 'well dress'd and powder'd,' to inquire for Knave, who is his led-friend and accomplice. These 'Brethren in Iniquity,' employing, to preserve their wits, all the approved expedients of 'Finger-shade, Mouth-spirt, or Shoulder-dash,' contrive to drink but moderately until the rest grow mellow, and the glass circulates freely. Then the drawer is ordered to place cards and candles on the little table, and the pair adjourn to 'Whisk' with 'Critic' and 'Buffoon,' who, suffered to win at first, are speedily stripped not only of their Money but their Rings and Watches, at which juncture, 'from the Gulphs of Despair in their Aspects, *Angelo* might have finish'd his famous Piece of the Last Judgment.' Upon this the

Father comments austerely: *Well might he, that was ask'd the Difference between* Aleator *and* Tesserarum Lusor, *answer, the same that there is between* Fur *and* Latro. Indeed the old Gentleman's familiarity with the subject of Gambling is remarkable, and suggests that his own juvenile experiences must have been peculiar or unusually varied. He describes in detail the different kinds of cogged dice:—the 'Doctors' and the 'Fulloms,' whose nefarious property is that they can be thrown high or low at will—the ingenious sub-varieties known as 'Flats,' 'Bars,' and 'Cuts'—the 'Dice with their Edges polish'd off, so as to make 'em run high'—the 'Chain-Dice' which are 'link'd together, so as to Rattle in the Box, yet close enough to hide the Chain,' etc. He also dwells upon the 'several Sorts of false Boxes'; and, lastly, upon the fraudulent devices known professionally as 'Top,' 'Peep,' 'Eclipse,' and 'Thumbing,' by all of which, even 'supposing both Box and Dice fair,' the accomplished sharper, with the help of a little sleight of hand, can still contrive to bamboozle his unfortunate 'Cully.'

It is from the portrait of 'Rake' that Poe borrows his quotation. 'Rake,' by the way, inveighing against Matrimony, which, he says, men praise as they 'do good Mustard, with Tears in their Eyes,' is cleverly countered by Wiseman, who asks him gravely if his mother was ever married—a home-thrust which 'sets all the Company a laughing.' Other prominent members of the Club are 'Traveller' who has returned well versed 'in the amorous Smirk, the alamode Grin, the antic Bow,' etc., but has brought little else of any value with him from abroad; and 'Projector,' to whom the Author, perhaps with an eye to the forthcoming

'Puckle's Machine,' is somewhat lenient, since, though he admits that he has never yet oblig'd the World with any Thing as useful as a Mouse-Trap,' he ranks him, not the less, of the lineage of Raleigh and Columbus. Towards the close of the volume, as the alphabet becomes exhausted, there is a scolding scene between 'Xantippe' and her husband 'Newsmonger,'—the butt of most character-makers from Theophrastus downwards. Then, with the small hours, 'Zany' the landlord falls to sing drinking songs, 'Youth' to tell of his horses and dogs, 'Impertinent' and 'Rake' revile Religion and the Bible; the rest resort to ribaldry and foolish noise. At length, after 'Youth' has called for the fiddlers to make a night of it, he is mortally affronted by 'Moroso,' bottles and candlesticks are freely exchanged as missiles, 'Flatterer' crawls under the table screaming 'Murder,' the Watch are summoned, and the combatants are carried off to cool in the nearest Compter. The Father and the Son nevertheless continue to converse. But the book henceforth is mainly occupied with the reading by the latter of a long paper of dispersed precepts, prepared by 'Wiseman' for the use of his relative 'Youth,' by whom, it is to be feared, they were never perused. '*Qui monet amat*,' says the closing epigraph: '*Ave et Cave*.[1]

That Puckle's *Club* can ever have a modern public may reasonably be doubted, unless, indeed, it be of those who—like Horace Walpole in his

[1] The quotations in this paper, it should be stated, are taken, not from the modern (and modernised) versions, which, in their arrangement of type, etc., differ materially from the earlier issues, but from the edition of 1713. The copy used (in the possession of the present writer) has, moreover, a certain individual interest. From inscriptions on its title-page it seems to have been the identical volume presented at the Stamp Office, Lincoln's Inn, in April, 1713, on the 29th of which month it was 'Registered and Entered acording to ye Statute [as] conteining Three Sheets and a halfe,' a duty of 7s. thereupon being duly received, for the Receiver-General, by one J. Sharp. Its margins

old age—read only what nobody else would read. '*Le style en est vieux*'—as Alceste says in the song; and the scheme is scarcely skilful. Nor can the writer be said to show any marked aptitude for character-building; while it must be confessed that the bulk of his maxims have the peculiarly arid flavour of the pre-Addisonian morality. But the book is well meaning; and its author's good intention is unquestioned. Towards the middle of the last century its vogue had apparently become exhausted, as there are no records of any editions subsequent to that of 1743. In 1817, however, it was rather unaccountably selected by a Mr. Edward Walmsley, described by Singer as 'a gentleman whose taste led him to the love of embellished books,' as the medium for a series of illustrations by John Thurston, who, at that time, was almost exclusively in request for designs upon the wood. Thurston prepared, and drew on the block, head- and tail-pieces for each of Puckle's characters, and he also added a title-page exhibiting 'The Club' at the moment of the final *fracas* between 'Youth' and 'Moroso.' His compositions are good examples of his skilful but very mannered style, and they were beautifully reproduced by the graver. The title-page, which was intrusted to that prince of craftsmen, John Thompson, is one of the most successful specimens of his work, and he did several of the head-pieces, *e.g.* 'Antiquary,' 'Flatterer,' 'Wiseman,' 'Usurer,' 'Xantippe,' etc. Others were

are crowded in places with MS. additions and corrections, for the most part cancelled on second thoughts, but apparently in Puckle's own handwriting. Thus, after 'Talk not much of yourself, for tho' it be done so as not to argue Pride, yet it may Ignorance of worthier Subjects,' is written, and then run through, 'Laus Proprio Sordescit in Ore.' Again, on page the last, after 'Because you find any Thing difficult to practise, don't presently conclude you can't Master it'—comes, in MS., 'in gallant Spirits Difficulty doth but whet Desire.' This is not crossed out; though it does not seem to have found its way into any subsequent impression.

engraved by some of Bewick's pupils,—'Quack and 'Zany' being by Charlton Nesbit, then living in retirement at his native place Swalwell; 'Buffoon,' by Henry White; and the tail-piece to 'Xantippe' by William Harvey, soon to be the prolific and popular successor of Thurston as a designer upon wood, but at that time only just arrived in London from Newcastle. The rest of the engravings were by the two Branstons, by Hole's pupil, William Hughes, and by Mary Byfield (sister of the John Byfield who, with G. W. Bonner, did Holbein's *Dance of Death* for Francis Douce). Miss Byfield was intrusted with the design for 'Rake.' Great stress is laid in the Preface upon the manner of these performances, and it is clear that—some modern authorities notwithstanding—they professed to be in exact *facsimile* of Thurston's originals. 'Every line of the drawing is marked out upon the block by the Designer, exactly as it appears upon the paper; from this delineation it is the province of the Engraver to cut out a perfect and well-wrought resemblance; to effect which, great ability is requisite, as the least deviation is irremediable, especially when what is technically termed *cross-hatching* occurs, as is fully exemplified in the decoration of this volume.' It was further stated that, in the effort after perfection, 'four beautiful designs' had been ruthlessly thrown aside on account of deviations by the engraver, and re-traced upon fresh blocks. The book, which has a copper-plate portrait by Bragg after Vertue's print of Puckle, was tastefully printed by John Johnson of Clerkenwell and *Typographia*, and was issued in several forms. Besides an ordinary edition of 500 copies, there were 200 on large paper; 18 on white, and 7 on yellow Chinese paper; 7 on satin,

and 3 in coloured inks (1 blue, 1 yellow, 1 various). In 1820 the illustrations were struck off from the original blocks without text, and in different tints; in 1834, they were again used for Singer's edition, which was printed at the Chiswick Press. In the story of the revival of wood-engraving, the Puckle's *Club* of 1817 comes honourably between the Ackermann's *Religious Emblems* of 1809 and Bewick's *Fables of Æsop* in 1818. 'Mr. T. Bewick, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,' it may be added, figures in the 'List of Subscribers,' and his copy was sold at the Bewick sale of 1884.

AUSTIN DOBSON.

THE BOOK-PLATES OF J. SKINNER OF BATH

IN my volume in the series of 'Books about Books,' I referred to the value of a printed date occurring on a book-plate, especially when that date was unquestionably the date of engraving; but I gave some instances in which the date so occurring was not certainly—and more in which it was not probably—the date of engraving at all, but the date of some event in the owner's career. There is however one position of the date on a book-plate which leaves us in no doubt as to the fact that it records the actual date of engraving—that is, when it follows the engraver's name, and, in the case of the works of J. Skinner of Bath, this is the position which it almost invariably occupies. His book-plates, therefore, deserve consideration by collectors, although, from an artistic stand-point, they may not be of a particularly high order.

Of J. Skinner, Lord de Tabley writes, in his *Guide to the Study of Book-Plates*, 'I would gladly learn some biographical details'; but he failed to find any, and I have been equally unfortunate. J. Skinner's name does not find a place in any dictionary of engravers—those of many of the smaller men, though prolific workers, do not—and, as I have just remarked, I have been, so far, worsted in my endeavours to find any particulars of him or his work except as we see it in his book-plates. At the British Museum there is no Bath newspaper

or directory sufficiently early to contain either an advertisement by Skinner or a mention of his place of residence; in the *Bath Directory* of 1812 the family name is represented by two grocers, one publican, one gardener, and one private resident—a Miss Skinner who lived at 3 St. James' Parade.

As usual, however, my ever-good friend, Sir Wollaston Franks, has come to the rescue with, if not fact, at least suggestion; he points out that amongst the engravers who vouched for the 'perfection' of *Sympson's New Book of Cypher*—'the most perfect and neatest drawn of any performance of the kind hitherto extant,' an edition of which appeared in 1726—was one Jacob Skinner, and it seems very likely that this is our friend, the engraver of book-plates, who was working at Bath from 1739 to 1753.

J. Skinner worked in three successive styles of English book-plate engraving—the Armorial, the Jacobean, and the Chippendale; a fact which of itself renders his work of special interest to collectors, since it enables them to see how the same hand treats the different styles when fully developed, and how it gradually changes from one style into the other.

Skinner's earliest dated book-plate is that here shown (fig. 1), which he engraved in 1732 for the library of Sir Christopher Musgrave, the then head of the Musgrave family at Eden Hall, who had succeeded to the property six years before. He signs this book-plate: 'J. Skinner Sculp.,' but gives no address, so we cannot, from the evidence of this single example state with certainty that he was already at this time settled at Bath. There are no particularly interesting features about the book-plate, which is in the Armorial style and by no means strong; but there

are more in the next dated example of his work, which occurs five years later in 1737:—the book-plate of 'John Conyers of Walthamstow in Essex Esq.' On this the form of the signature is the same, but the ornamentation is quite Jacobean; the shield is oval, with wing-like excrescences, one at the top and one at each side—that at the top forms a back-ground to the helmet which supports the crest.

FIG. 1

It is a long gap, five years (1732-1737), between J. Skinner's first and second book-plates, and it is worth the collector's while to look for unsigned examples which, from their touch and general appearance, may be his. So far as we know, he only signed two book-plates (I shall speak of them last), which he did not date; one of these, Sir John Smyth's, may perhaps be placed during this five years' interval, though I am inclined to put it still earlier.

Next year (1738) J. Skinner engraved the book-plate of 'Francis Carington Esq. of Wotton Warwickshire,' which is here figured; this is decidedly earlier in appearance—earlier even than the Musgrave book-plate, some of the early appearance being perhaps due to the absence of indication of the tinctures of the arms—a habit which, as we

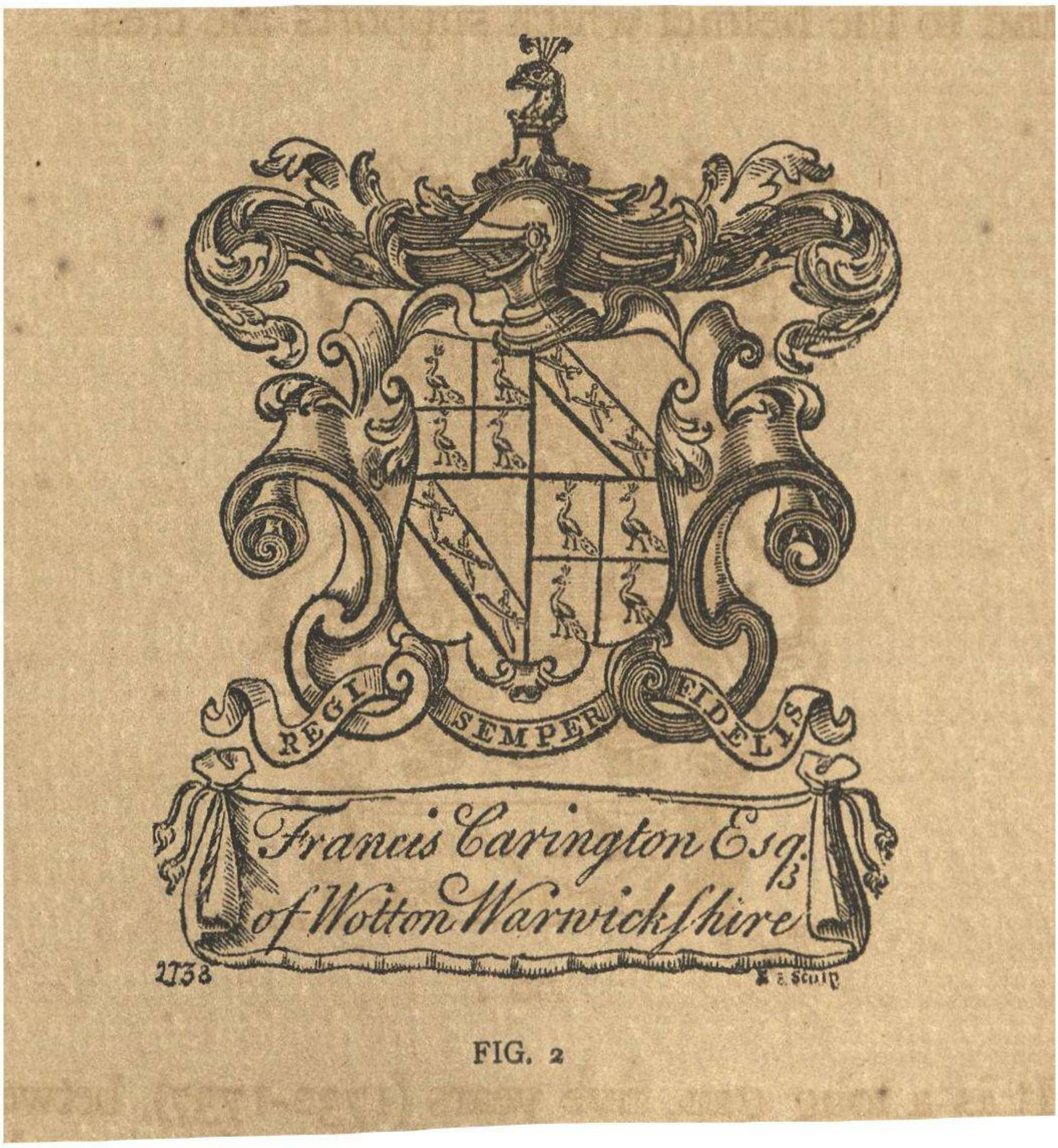


FIG. 2

shall see, Skinner afterwards followed in two or three instances. A slight mantling falls from an esquire's helmet and descends part-way down the shield, the owner's name and description being given upon a fringed cloth. But the feature of interest to note about this example is the monogrammatic form of the engraver's signature: 'JS.' It is the first time he uses it; and, in his subse-

quent dated work, he always adopted some similar form, the most frequent being this :—' Skin[r].'

None of the book-owners, whose plates have as yet been mentioned, are specially connected with Bath, and on none does Skinner specify Bath as his place of residence; but insomuch as then—in the palmy days of the reign of King Nash—all roads led to Bath, it is probable that, at the fashionable season, the Cumberland baronet as well as the Essex and Warwickshire squires found their ways there, and, likely enough, had their book-plates engraved in that ancient city, whilst they squandered their time and injured their constitutions and digestions by late hours and a surfeit of generally unwholesome gaiety. Thus the fact that neither Musgrave, nor Conyers, nor Carington is particularly associated with Bath, in no way counts as an argument that Skinner was not working there at the time of the first dated performance of which he has left us a trace.

The next fact there is to record about Skinner's book-plates is quite in favour of this assertion. In 1739 he engraved a book-plate for 'Francis Massy Esq. of Rixton, Lancashire,' and this he dated at Bath; giving us, by so doing, the first date at which we have actual proof that he was working there. The Massy plate is very similar in design to the Carington just mentioned.

But even earlier in style than any of his work yet spoken about is the book-plate of a Bath resident, 'William Hillary M.D.,' dated in 1743 and signed 'S.' Here the mantling descends nearly to the base of the shield quite in the fashion of the 'Armorial' style of book-plates of the close of the seventeenth century. This plate seems to have been Skinner's latest work in the early styles, and two years before, in 1741, he had already

designed a book-plate for 'John Philip Fuhr' in which there are clear indications of Chippendalism. The Hillary plate is in fact a transitional one—a Jacobean shield on which the artist has put a good deal of Chippendale ornament; the tinctures are only partially expressed. Henry Pennant's book-plate, signed and dated by Skinner in the following year, is just such another; identical in design. In both the shield is really symmetrical, though the arrangement of the floral sprays and shellwork give it, at first sight, the appearance of being unsymmetrical; the name of the owner occurs on the motto scroll.

Skinner was, at that time, already working in the Chippendale style. So early as 1740 he had engraved, from a design of T. Ross, a really very beautiful book-plate for 'John Wiltshire,' which —though its leading features place it amongst allegorical book-plates—yet, from the shape and ornamentation of the shield, may be classed with the artist's Chippendale work. A shield bearing the Wiltshire arms is placed upon a platform and against a cippus or small monumental column; Shakespeare stands on the right, and listens with a pleased expression to the music of a rustic piper, whose head appears at the back of the cippus, whilst, on the left, Pope weighs the eloquence of an orator, whose head and upraised hand also appear from behind the cippus. A medallion of Augustus is on a pedestal above. Lying on the platform are many emblems of the painter's and musician's arts, and amongst these Cupid is seated, thinking, perhaps, which he shall play with next, and holding the end of a ribband inscribed: 'John Wiltshire, Bath. 1740.' The design, which is here represented (fig. 3), is certainly original, and it is unfortunate that we

know nothing of the designer; the dictionaries of painters and engravers are as silent about 'T. Ross' as they are about 'J. Skinner.'

It is quite possible that we have here, not only

FIG. 3

an interesting book-plate, but the book-plate of an interesting man. When Gainsborough moved to Bath in 1760, he found that the Pickford of the day,

who had the carrying trade of the Bath road, was no ordinary carrier, but a man of taste and culture, and ready to do all he could to help art and artists. He was a certain John Wiltshire, and, before Gainsborough had long been a citizen of Bath, he was Wiltshire's friend, and in the enjoyment of a very tangible proof of friendship: for Wiltshire carried to London, *gratis*, every picture that Gainsborough needed to send thither. Not a penny would he take for 'carriage.' 'No, no,' he would exclaim, when the artist's modesty led him to protest against such generosity, 'I admire painting too much for that.' No doubt he did, and it must be said that, in return for his goodness, Gainsborough gave him many a charming bit of work on which to feast his eyes. Let us hope we have before us the book-plate of this 'kind of worthy man,' as Allan Cunningham called him, 'who loved Gainsborough and admired his works.' Of course the plate is twenty years earlier than the commencement of Gainsborough's residence at Bath, and of his friendship with Wiltshire; but what of that? Wiltshire had been likely enough a lover of art, and the owner of books, long before; and there is no necessity for believing that his was a sudden conversion to a self-sacrificing love for art, produced by his intimacy with Gainsborough.

It is a long fall from John Wiltshire's tastefully conceived and prettily executed book-plate in 1740 to that of 'Thoˢ Haviland Bath, 1742,' the next example of Skinner's work I know of, a very poor production, with a frame like Fuhr and Pennant, signed by the Artist in his usual way. Next year, 1743, he went back to the Chippendale style and produced a book-plate for Charles Delafaye. This, too, is a thoroughly mediocre piece of work;

the inscription reads: 'Charles Delafaye Esq., of Wichbury Wilts,' and the book-plate is signed 'Bath—Skinner, sculp.'; it is very like those of Walters and Gusthart, which I shall describe later on. Of the same order are his two next productions which I have seen, the plates of 'John Hughes of Brecon, Esqre.,' signed 'Skin^r sculp^t,' 1745, on which there are no tinctures indicated; and of 'Benja: Adamson,' signed 'Bath—Skin^r Sculp.' In this last, here shown (fig. 4), the owner's

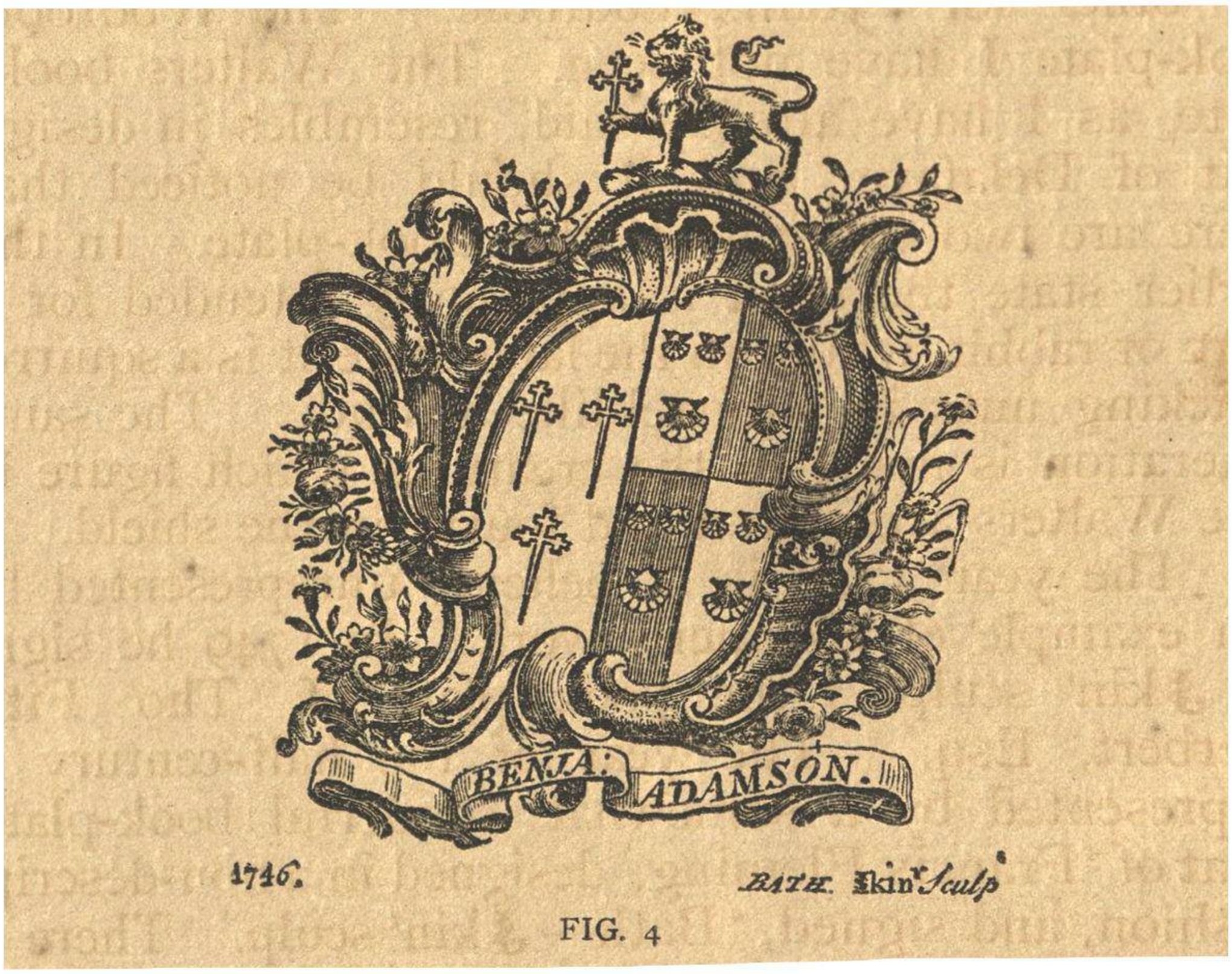


FIG. 4

name appears upon the motto scroll. The tinctures are here partially omitted. There is a considerable resemblance in this book-plate to that of Thomas Fitzherbert, of which presently. Sir Wollaston Franks has a note of a book-plate by J. Skinner, of 'Johnson Robinson,' dated in 1744, but I have not seen it, so cannot give any description.

Another example of Skinner's work in the year

1746 is decidedly superior; I refer to the book-plate of 'Hen. Toye Bridgeman Esq. of Princknash: Gloucestershire,' signed 'J Skinr sculpt.' In this there is a remarkable firmness of touch and fineness of work, and, though somewhat over-ornamented, it is a fairly good example of the Chippendale style of decoration. Next year (1747) Skinner falls back to his ordinary level, producing two book-plates, both very commonplace, one for 'Henry Walters, Esq.,' signed 'Bath, 1747— J Skinr sculp.'; the other for 'John Wodroofe.' The Wodroofe book-plate I have not seen. The Walters book-plate, as I have already said, resembles in design that of Delafaye; and it should be noticed that there are two varieties of this book-plate. In the earlier state the crest is apparently intended for a hare or rabbit, whilst in the later state it is a squirrel cracking nuts in squirrel-like attitude. The same alteration is made in the creatures which figure in the Walters arms, first and fourth in the shield.

The year 1748 is, I believe, unrepresented by an example of Skinner's work. In 1749 he signs ('J Skinr sculpt') the book-plate of 'Thos Fitz-herbert, Esq.' The year of the half-century is represented by a somewhat wonderful book-plate, that of 'Francis Fleming,' designed in a non-descript fashion, and signed, 'Bath— J Skinr sculp.' There is a Scotch look about this plate which suggests that the owner and not the engraver was responsible for its design. The shield is oddly shaped, and is on a medallion, whilst musical instruments of various kinds figure beneath. The Fleming coat, as represented, is only borne by Fleming, Earl of Wigtown. The year 1750 is also represented by a more ordinary book-plate, that of 'Robert Gusthart, M.D.,' signed like the Fleming book-plate,

but in design very like the Delafaye and Walters examples. Gusthart, like many of Skinner's clients, was a doctor at Bath, and his name appears as late as 1773 in a list of medical men practising there, which is printed in the *Bath Guide*.

In 1751 we have the book-plate which Skinner engraved for William Oliver, then quite a young

FIG. 5

man, and only just come from Oxford, but who afterwards flourished as a medical practitioner. This example of Skinner's work, of which I give a reproduction (fig. 5), is a Chippendale book-plate inscribed: 'Gul: Oliver ex Æde Christi Alumn. Oxon,' and signed 'Skinr Sculp.' This William Oliver was eighteen years of age in 1749, when

he matriculated from Christ Church, and was at Leyden in 1753 studying medicine for the purpose of following the career of his better-known father, whose book-plate J. Skinner also engraved, and of which more will be said presently.

Young Oliver's book-plate shows a remarkable fineness of touch and quality of work, and is quite on a par with those of Bridgeman and Wiltshire, though, of course, not so ambitious in design as the last named.

In 1753 we have Skinner's latest dated book-plate yet brought to light. In style it is Chippendale; the execution is coarse, and the shield is over-ornamented with shell-work and flower-sprays. It is inscribed: 'The Revd I. Dobson, A.M.—J Skin^{r} Sculpt.' Altogether it is not a favourable example of the artist's work, and suggests that, in 1753, his skill as an engraver was diminishing. With but little doubt, this, besides being his latest dated book-plate, is also the latest example of his work that is known to collectors.

There are, as I have already pointed out, only two of Skinner's productions undated; these are the book-plates of Sir John Smyth Bart., LL.D., and of Dr. William Oliver, father of the William Oliver, whose book-plate has just been described. Of these the former is evidently the earlier of the two. It is a very ambitious and, withal, a curious plate. The shield stands upon a platform and is Jacobean in shape and ornamentation; the background is shaded. Clumsily drawn and clumsily posed, partly draped female figures stand upon bracket-like excrescences springing from the shield, and Cupids recline below the platform and hold it aloft. It is signed 'I. Skinner' in full, and this, as I have already shown, points to an earlier date for the execution of the

work. The owner was born in 1699, succeeded to the baronetcy 1726, and died in 1741, and I expect that the date of the book-plate is nearer the time of his accession than that of his death. Indeed, I am under the impression that we have here the earliest example of J. Skinner's work as a book-plate engraver that has as yet been found.

FIG. 6

I now come to speak of the second of the two undated book-plates: that of Dr. William Oliver. This, which I reproduce (fig. 6), is inscribed: 'Guil: Oliver, M.D., S.R.S.,' and is signed, 'J. Skinner Sculpt.' In conception the work is somewhat akin to the book-plate of John Wiltshire,

though it is unquestionably inferior to it in all ways. The shield, bearing the Oliver coat of arms, stands upon a platform and is supported, like the Wiltshire example, by allegoric figures on either side; but instead of these figures being representative of the drama and of literature, they are an ancient and a modern medical practitioner; the former being perhaps even the god of medicine himself. This is quite appropriate; for Oliver, though a man of cultured tastes in many walks of life, and one who might have committed the care of his family escutcheon to the allegoric representatives of many arts, was first and foremost a doctor of medicine. The modern doctor is arrayed in cap and gown, and stands on the right of the shield, with hand outstretched towards his fellow of old time. A slight mantling falls from an esquire's helmet above the shield, as in the Massy and Carington book-plates, and below the platform, on a triangle, is a club, around which the serpent of Æsculapius entwines itself.

Oliver's life lasted for hard on seventy years, —from 1695 to 1764; the date of his book-plate, though it cannot be fixed with certainty, may, from the form of the signature, be placed some four-and-twenty years before its close, or about the date of the Wiltshire plate. After settling at Bath, and commencing practice as a physician, his rise to fame was remarkable for its rapidity, and as, quite early in his career, he busied himself in hospital building, hospital management, and other works of philanthropy, he soon made for himself a number of enemies amongst his medical fellow-men, less capable and less philanthropic than himself.* As a physician and a philanthropist he is now forgotten—as the inventor of biscuits he is remembered—at least in name; for the Bath 'Oliver' still

holds its own against the multitude of modern competitors, and is still—so the makers say—prepared from Dr. Oliver's original receipt. That receipt he confided, when on his death-bed, to his coachman, giving him £100 in money and ten sacks of the finest flour wherewith to continue the production of the already popular biscuits; with the money the coachman opened a shop in Green Street, Bath, and soon got together a comfortable fortune.

Some eighteen years before his death Oliver moved out of Bath to a small farm-house he had purchased at Box, and this he dignified with the title of the ancestral home of the Oliver family in Cornwall. He died, as I have said, in 1764, and his books, which contained the book-plate before us, were brought to the hammer in the same year; so that they have, for more than a century, been widely dispersed. There is, therefore, little chance now of any great 'find' of his book-plates being made in some hitherto unexplored library.

What happened to J. Skinner after 1753, the date of his latest dated book-plate, we do not know; he was then working at Bath, and it is worth while to remember, whilst considering his identity, that, a little after this, viz. in 1755, there was another West of England engraver, Matthew Skinner of Exeter, working on book-plates. He signs three examples, all designed in the Chippendale style:—'Jean Eli Jaquĕri, de Moudon en Suisse. Né en 1732—M. Skinner Exon sculp. 1755'; 'S^{r}. Edm^{d}. Thomas, Bart.—M. Skinner Exon Sculp'—these two are fairly good specimens of work in the ordinary Chippendale style—and 'Peregrine Fra^{s}. Thorne—Matt^{w} Skinner Exon sculp.'—a Chippendale book-plate, introducing many emblems of the soldier's art. I know of no connection between

these two men, and there is no resemblance in their work; but it is at all events noteworthy that there were two engravers in the West of England, both working on book-plates at very much the same period. Perhaps some one, with local genealogical knowledge, will show us a connection between them and tell us something more about each of them.

W. J. Hardy.

JOHN RASTELL AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

IN the course of some work at the Record Office a few months back, I came across a document which I venture to think is one of the most important for the history of English printing during the sixteenth century that has been found of late years. It contains a series of depositions taken in the 26th Henry VIII. (1534-35), in connection with John Rastell's printing-house, the 'Mermaid next Paul's Gate.'

Some dispute had arisen about the right of sub-

letting the house, and the matter was taken into the Court of Chancery, these depositions, duly signed by each witness, forming part of the evidence for the plaintiffs.

These plaintiffs were John Gough and John Rastell, Gough's name being placed first because he was at that time Rastell's under-tenant, and therefore the chief party to the action. The defendants were Lewis Sutton, a stationer (See Arber's *Transcripts of the Stationers' Company*, vol. I, p. xxi.), and Richard Draper, described as Upper Master and Warden of the fellowship of Goldsmiths.

The first witness whose evidence was taken was 'William Bonham of London, stacioner, of the age of xxxviij yeres.' He began by stating that some eighteen years before, *i.e.* in or about 1517, he knew one Bygous (a name spelt in various ways throughout the document), as owner of the house in question.

After his death it was held for two years by his widow, and after her by one Bowman, a tailor, who took it of the Masters of the Bridge House, the ground landlords. Bowman, however, 'became wery of his bargain because of the high rent of the same,' and in 1520 John Rastell succeeded him in the tenancy of the house, the negotiations for the transfer of the property being carried out at Rastell's request by the witness William Bonham.

Bonham then goes on to say :—

'Sith which time [*i.e.* the taking of the house by Rastell] the same John Rastell hath used to ride down into the country, where he had one other dwelling, and there sometyme taryed a quarter of a yere and sometyme more and sometyme les. / And also he seith that during whiche tyme that the said Rastell was in the countrey, the dores were shutt up, and sometyme an undertennt occupied the shop of the same messuage.' . . . 'And moreover this deponent seith that the said Rastell within one year next after the taking of the said lease [*i.e.* 1521 or 2], did lett unto this deponent part of the shop and part of said messuage, which this deponent

occupied and enjoyed by the space of ij yeres / and nott long after the same two years [*i.e.* 1523 or 4] / one John Heron haberdasher which occupied the craft of Stacioner / toke the same part which the deponent occupied in the said messuage / and occupied the same under the said Rastell by the space of iij yeres or thereabout / and after that [*i.e.* circa 1526] one Thomas Kele occupied the same in like manner under the said Rastell, by the space of one year or thereabowt. / And syns (since) that tyme this deponent had the same part again under the said Rastell. And nowe (*i.e.* 1534-5) one John Gough occupies the same part, together with the hall with ij or iij chambers, the kechyn and the buttrey and sellar, more than the forenamed, Heron, Kele and this deponent occupyed. And the residue, that is to say the printing house, the castyng house and the garrett and half the shop with free entry egress and regress into the hall and kechyn, is and hath been continually in the hands and occupation of the said Rastell, but whether the said Rastell have any chamber reserved to him or not, this deponent knoweth not.'

Bonham concludes his evidence with a statement that the defendant, Richard Draper, bore Rastell much ill-will, owing to Rastell's frequent appearances in the king's courts as counsel against the Goldsmiths, and adds that he knows that Rastell has printed 'divers bokes' at his house since Gough had been his tenant.

This evidence was confirmed and supplemented by the witnesses who followed Bonham.

One of these was Ralph Cressey, mercer, a neighbour of Rastell's, who added that Rastell's country-house was in Finsbury Fields, and that Gough had been a tenant for something like a year and a half (*i.e.* since 1532). Cressey also gave important evidence relative to the custom of life-tenure of houses in the city of London.

But the most important and interesting witness next to William Bonham was William Mayhewe, John Rastell's printer. Mayhewe gave his age as only twenty, so that he was probably not out of his apprenticeship, and it is somewhat difficult to

believe that the business was left in his entire charge, as his evidence seems to imply.

According to Mayhewe's evidence, he had lived with his master for three years, and for the previous twelvemonth had kept half the shop to his master's use, and separate from that used by Gough, and had sold his master's books there. He also asserted that 'dyvers of the servants of the said Rastell, that is to say Leonard Andrewe, and one Gueryn a Dochman, and other have used and do use sometyme to print in the said printing house, for the said Rastell, and have used to lye in the same garrett.'

It will be admitted at once, I think, that this document furnishes several valuable notes concerning the printing and bookselling trades in London during the first half of the sixteenth century. It fixes the year 1520 as the date at which John Rastell began to print at the 'Mermaid,' and proves that all his books of an earlier date must have been printed somewhere else, probably in that house 'on ye sowth side of paulys,' at which its colophon tells us that he printed an undated edition of Linacre's *Grammar*, of which a copy is preserved in the Grenville Library.

When Rastell removed to the 'Mermaid' in 1520, he was well on in life, for in a letter to Thomas Cromwell, written in 1536,[1] he speaks of himself as an 'old' man. Very little is known about his earlier life. Anthony à Wood mentioned him as a scholar at Oxford, and it was guessed from the fact that he edited, compiled, and printed so many law-books, that he must have been trained to the law. This is now confirmed not only by the letter referred to, in which he declared that for some

[1] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 7, No. 1073.

years past he had been making forty marks a year by the law, but also by Bonham's evidence in these depositions.

We also know that Rastell was connected by marriage with Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor of England, and author of *Utopia*, from which it may be inferred that he was a man of some social position. He probably learnt the art of a printer in a foreign house. That picturesque type of his, in which Fitzherbert's *Abridgement* is printed, is suggestive of a Norman printing-house. How long he continued to use that type, and what other books he printed with it, we shall never know, as the bulk of his work as a printer has perished, and of the remnant many books bear no date, and others have lost their colophons.

It was Rastell who gave the name of the 'Mermaid' to the house in Cheapside, and it is probable that the house on the 'south side of Paul's' had borne the same sign. At least, it is certain that Rastell was using that remarkable and wholly indescribable device of his with the 'mermaids' long before the year 1520; and it is, moreover, curious that not one of the witnesses, whose depositions are recorded above, mentioned the house by its sign. All they say is, that they knew the house 'at variance between the parties'; but there can be no question as to what house is meant, because we have mention of only one house in which both Gough and Rastell worked, and that was the 'Mermayd at Powlys gate next to chepe syde.'

The only evidence of John Rastell's work during the first five years of his tenancy is a record by Dibdin of the *Abreviation of the Statutes* being printed in 1520, and the book *De Fundamentis Legum Angliae* in 1523. No copies of either work

are to be found in our large libraries, and they must have formed but a fraction of his printing during that time. Hazlitt, in his series of *Shakespeare Text-books*, 1864, reprinted the *Twelve mery gestys of one called Edith*, with a note to the effect that only three copies of the book were known, but he omitted to say not only where those three copies were to be found, but also which one he used. It is said to have been printed 'at London at the sygne of the mere-mayde at Pollis gate next to chepesyde by John Rastell xxiiii March MDXXV.'

In the succeeding year (1526) another jest-book issued from the 'Mermaid,' and rapidly became the talk of the town. It was still popular when Shakespeare wrote his *Much Ado about Nothing*. This book was called by its authors *A Hundred Mery Talys*, and consisted of prose anecdotes, some of them highly diverting, others grossly obscene, and more than half of them aimed at the licentious lives of the Roman Catholic priesthood.

Of this remarkable book only one perfect copy is known, that in the Royal Library at Göttingen. A reprint of it, edited with introduction and notes by Dr. Herman Oesterly, was printed in London in 1866; but two years earlier Mr. Hazlitt had reprinted it in his series of *Shakespeare Text-Books* from an imperfect copy that had belonged to the Rev. J. J. Conybeare. Subsequently, in 1887, he published a photographic reproduction of the Göttingen copy, with a new introduction, notes, and glossary.

In 1527 Rastell printed an *Abridgement of the Statutes* in octavo, in a small black-letter type of peculiar character, a similar type being used by all the other printers of the time for works of this kind. The next year he printed, also in octavo, Saint Germain's *De Fundamentis Legum*. In this book

the colophon and device of the printer are placed before two leaves of errata. It appears to have been a common practice of this printing-house to insert some pages of matter after the colophon. The same thing occurs in the *Book of Purgatory*, but in that case the device is on the last page of the book.

At this time the first whispers of Church Reform were stirring men's minds, and amongst the reformers was Simon Fisshe, who was not only an agent for the diffusion of Tyndale's *Testament*, but the author of a book in which he inveighed against the rapacity of the clergy. It was this *Supplicacyon for the Beggars* that Sir Thomas More—always a witty and keen controversialist—answered in 1529 with the *Supplicacyon of Souls*, printed in quarto by John Rastell. More also wrote about this time a *Dialoge* in four books, upon various topics dealt with by the Lutherans. This also was printed by John Rastell in 1529, and there are copies of it in the Bodleian and the Guildhall Libraries.

The year 1530 saw the publication by Rastell of two important books—*Pastyme of People* and the *New boke of Purgatory*. To both he was alike author, editor, and printer. The first was a compilation from the various old monastic chroniclers, chiefly, however, those of Fabian and the *Polychronicon*, and, like nearly all Rastell's books, is the despair of the book collector. In 1892 Mr. F. Norgate contributed an interesting article to *Notes and Queries* on the various copies of it in our libraries and those that may perhaps see the light in an auction-room some day.

At the top of the first list stands the only perfect copy known, that given by Harley, Earl of Oxford, to Benjamin West, which was acquired for the library

of George III., and so came into the possession of the nation. The Museum has also another copy in the Grenville collection (G. 6030), but this wants the last leaf. In the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow there is a third copy, but this is sadly mutilated, wanting not only the sixth and last leaves, but a part of the title. Earl Spencer's copy, now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, is also imperfect. So was that of Earl Hardwicke, bought in 1886 by Mr. Quaritch for £79. Finally, there was a copy belonging to Lieut.-Col. Tyrrell, sold by Messrs. Christie in 1891 for £40.

The writer of the article goes on to point out that one of the Ratcliffe copies, sold in 1776, is still unaccounted for; that the Earl of Oxford had another copy that, after passing through various hands, has been lost sight of; and that Towneley's copy, sold in 1814 for £43, 1s., is still in private hands.

The full title of this book ran:

> The Pastyme of people | The Cronycles of dyuers realmys and most specyally of the realme of | England. breuvely cōpyled & empryntyd in chepeſyde at the ſygne of | the mearemayd next to pollys gate. | ¶ Cum priuilegio.

The date of printing is arrived at from a passage in the text, under the reign of Henry IV., where reference is made to the value of money 'at this present daye, which is nowe the xxi yere of Kynge Hen. 8th,' *i.e.* 1530, though it does not at all follow that the book was finished and printed in that year.

In the prologue which Rastell wrote to this book, he pointed out some of the absurdities that were put forward as history by the older chroniclers, and his frequent references to the Saxon Chronicle, to Bede, and to Gildas, show that he took some pains to make the work authentic. His method

of arranging the text was confusing, and the repeated use of printers' ornaments for filling up lines and marking divisions gives the printing an unsightly appearance, although it hardly deserves the unmeasured censure passed upon it by Dibdin in his reprint of 1811. The woodcuts in it were boldly conceived, with a certain freedom of treatment, and with close attention to the detail of costume, and, taken altogether, considering the wretched state of the art of woodcutting in England at that time, were not without merit.

The other book produced by Rastell in the year 1530 was no less remarkable in its way. It was his first plunge into the religious warfare of the day, and marks a turning-point in his own career. This is his treatise in defence of the Roman doctrine of purgatory. He divided the subject into three parts, and called the whole

> ¶ A New boke of purgatory | whiche is a dyaloge and diſputacyon betweene | one ¶ Comyngo an Almayn a Chriſten man / and one | ¶ Gyngemyn a turke of Machometts law / dyſ- | putynge by naturall reaſon and good phi | loſophye / whether there be a purga | torye or no purgatorye. which | boke is deuyded into thre | dyaloges. | ∴ ¶ The fyrſt dyaloge sheweth and treateth of the | merueylous exyſtens of god. |
> ¶ The ſecond dyaloge treateth of the immorta- | lyte of mannys ſoule. |
> ¶ The Thyrde dyaloge treateth of purgatory.

With the argument or literary merit of this book on 'Purgatory' we have nothing to do. Rastell was at this time a staunch Catholic. He was also a lawyer, and, we may be sure, made the best of his own case. But he was quickly answered. John Frith stepped out from the ranks of the reformers and not only attacked the Goliath of the opposite party, Sir Thomas More, but so belaboured his

shield-bearer, John Rastell, that the latter threw down his arms and surrendered. In other words he became a convert to Protestantism very soon afterwards, and the change has been believed to be due to Frith's answers to his *Book of Purgatory*.

From this time to the day of his death, which took place in 1536, the only book that can with certainty be traced to Rastell's press, is John Heywood's interlude *Of Gentylnes and Nobilyte*, printed in folio in 1536. How he was occupied during these later years may be gathered from a passage in the letter to Cromwell already mentioned, in which he says that he has spent four or five years in compiling books in furtherance of the king's cause and opposing the pope, whereby he had lost more than £100 worth of business, besides the profits he got from the law, for whereas he was wont to print 200 or 300 ream of paper every year he had not these two years printed more than 100 ream, and had not earned more than forty shillings a year by the law.[1]

His conversion, in fact, had cost him all that was worth living for. He had incurred the hatred of the Romanists, and was evidently not held in much respect by the king or his ministers. Another letter of his in this same series (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. 2, 1874), written there is little doubt shortly before his death, is a sad record of his last days. Like the first it was written to Cromwell, and in it Rastell declares that he was oppressed by poverty and long imprisonment, that he had lost all his friends, and was forsaken of his kinsmen. He complained bitterly of the injustice

[1] This letter was evidently written in 1536 and not in 1534 as stated in the *Calendar of State Papers*. The expression 'four or five years' proves this, as Rastell would not have been opposing the pope before his conversion, and that certainly did not take place before 1531.

of being kept in prison so long without trial instead of being set at liberty on bail, and begs Cromwell to use his influence with the king to procure his release.

Rastell left little in his will to any one. His wife, who survived him, received the house in St. Martin's parish, which he had made over to her on her marriage. To his son William he left only forty shillings, whilst his other son John received only an annuity left him by a grandmother. To Cromwell he left five marks 'for his good counsel,' and to the Lord Chancellor a sum of forty shillings 'for speedy justice.' He made the king his executor, and coupled with him Ralph Cressey, who was one of the witnesses to the depositions in the Court of Chancery.

It is evident from those depositions that John Rastell left his printing very largely to his workmen, being absent from the printing-house for months at a time. It does not follow from this that he was not a practical printer. I have no doubt, indeed, that he understood every department of the work, and instructed his apprentices; but the few volumes that have come down to us do not represent more than a fraction of his life-work, and it is impossible to base any permanent conclusions on such fragmentary evidence.

The names of some of the printers employed by John Rastell, and supplied by William Mayhewe, excite our curiosity. Mayhewe himself does not seem to have made a noise in the world; but who was Leonard Andrewe? One is loth to jump to conclusions; but the inference that he was some relative of Lawrence Andrewe, who printed Arnold's *Chronicles*, and was associated with the Dutch printer, Jan Van Doesborgh, is very tempting, and

is in accord with Mr. Proctor's opinion, expressed in his monograph on Doesborgh (p. 8), that Lawrence Andrewe's work more closely resembes the productions of English printers 'such as Peter Treveris or John Rastell,' than those of any foreign press.

With regard to his other fellow-printer, Mayhewe was in one respect at fault. Guerin was a Norman not a Dutchman. I am indebted to Mr. Gordon Duff for the information that there was a bookbinder of that name. There was another a printer, of whose work, a solitary example without place or date, a narrow oblong Book of Hours, printed on vellum, is preserved in the British Museum. How can we account for the presence of this foreigner in Rastell's printing-house? Two reasons seem to me to be plausible, but I offer them with all deference to those whose knowledge is wider than my own. The first is that he was connected with some printer in France or Normandy, under whom Rastell himself had in earlier days learnt the rudiments of the art of printing; the second, that Lawrence Andrewe, who was living at Calais, had made the acquaintance of Guerin, and had suggested his studying in the London printing-house in which one of his own name was then working.

No less interesting is Bonham's account of those who, from time to time, were occupants of the other half of John Rastell's premises.

Bonham himself occupied them on two occasions, that is from 1521 to 1523, and for some time between 1528 and 1532. The statement of his age shows that he was born in 1496. It is uncertain when he first set up for himself as a bookseller, but it could hardly have been earlier than 1521. Yet no books having his imprint are

met with before 1542, at which time he was living at the King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard.

John Heron who succeeded him is an entirely new name in the list of London booksellers. So, too, is that of Thomas Kele, though there can be little doubt that he was either father or brother of Richard Kele who, in later years, is found at the 'Long Shop in the Poultry.' Most important of all was John Gough, who appears to have removed his business from Fleet Street to the 'Mermaid' in or about 1532. Wynkyn de Worde printed several books for him, including a little tract of four quarto leaves, entitled *The maner of the tryumphe at Caleys and Bulleyn*, with the colophon:—

> Imprynted by Wynkyn de Worde under | the grace and privilege of our mooſt royall | and redoubted prynce kynge Henry the VIII. for Johan Gowgh / dwellynge at | Poules gate in Chepe. | '

But the most interesting and valuable of all Gough's publications, while he occupied Rastell's premises, was the Salisbury 'Primer,' of which there is a perfect copy in the Bodleian. This is one of the very few service-books printed by English printers in the sixteenth century, and Gough turned it out in a creditable manner, for though far behind the workmanship of the best French *Horæ*, the 'Primer' is a beautiful little volume. The type, a good black letter, though not new, was well cut, and the work was illustrated throughout with woodcuts of various sizes, probably obtained by Gough from abroad.

In three places, on the title-page, in the colophon, and on the last leaf, the statement is made that John Gough was the printer. This, however, probably only meant that it was printed at his

expense, as there is no evidence that he was at any time either a practical or a master printer; and it seems to have been a common practice with booksellers in the sixteenth century to substitute the little word 'by' in place of that other little word 'for' in the copies of those books in which they had a share of the publication, a practice which has led to many stationers who were only retailers of books, and had never handled a composing-stick or taken a pull, being described as printers.

It is just possible that this Primer, and also the New Testament, which Gough issued from this house, may have been printed by John Rastell's workmen. In all probability he availed himself of their services on occasion. Nor does it follow that this is impossible because the type used in the Primer was not Rastell's. Gough may have obtained type as well as blocks from some foreign printing-house.

The rest of Gough's life-work lies beyond the limit of this article, as both he and William Bonham were carrying on their trade when John Rastell and his troubles had been buried for twenty years.

One other point of some interest still remains to be noted. If, as is generally believed, the famous 'Mermaid' tavern—immortalised by Beaumont as the meeting-place of the poets and wits of the later sixteenth century—is identical with the printing-house of John Rastell, the statement made by William Bonham in these depositions, that it belonged to the masters of the Bridgehouse, taken in connection with a passage in Stow's *Survey*, proves that the position of this house generally accepted by antiquaries—that is, in Bread Street and Friday Street—is altogether wrong.

Describing 'Old Exchange Lane' in the ward of Faringdon Within, Stow says:—

'On the East side of this lane betwixt West Chepe and the church of St. Augustine, Henry Walles, mayor, by license of Edward 1st., built one row of houses, the profits rising of them to be employed on London Bridge.'

He makes no similar statement about any of the property in either Bread Street or Friday Street; hence there is a strong presumption that the 'Mermaid' printing-house was one of this row of houses in 'Old Exchange,' probably the corner one abutting on Cheapside. This would be literally 'next to pollys gate,' as Rastell was wont to describe it (for the entrance to St. Paul's Churchyard was just at this point)—a description that certainly would not apply to premises situated two or three streets away.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

CHINESE ILLUSTRATED BOOKS

THE prominence which has of late years been given to Japanese art, including wood-engraving, has thrown into the background the artistic productions of the country from which that art was derived; and in our admiration of Japanese pictures we are apt to forget the fount from which they sprung. The collection of Chinese and Japanese pictures which was lately exhibited at the British Museum has done much to place the relative merits of the artists of the two countries in their true light. It was there shown not only that could China claim priority in point of time, but that in the work of the earliest Chinese artists was plainly to be traced the embryo of Japanese art. In the same way we find that the Japanese wood-engravers drew their inspiration from the neighbouring empire.

It is only natural that this should be so. History tells us that the art of printing was invented in China in the sixth century, and though it did not come into common use until about the time when Alfred ruled in Britain, it was no doubt practised by a chosen few. The step between engraving written characters—especially such pictorial characters as those of China—and engraving pictures is an easy one, and no doubt it was taken at an early period. The artistic taste and skill shown in the earliest specimen of Chinese wood-engraving which is known in Europe makes it obvious that the art must long have been practised in the land.

雲雷鼓掣電
念彼觀音力
降雹澍大雨
應時得消散

衆生被困厄
觀音妙智力
無量苦逼身
能救世間苦

As has been the case in so many countries, religion would appear to have given the first impetus to art in China, and, at all events, the first known illustrated book is a volume containing the account of a number of Buddhist miracles on which holy men and women—especially women—delight to meditate. One of the most beautiful of its illustrations represents with great feeling and beauty of design a miracle performed by Kwanyin, the goddess of mercy. This engraving (Plate xxi.), which is dated 1331, shows a wayfarer attacked by the goddess of lightning and the god of thunder, who are pouring down their terrors upon him, while the goddess of mercy and fecundity stands on a neighbouring cloud graciously listening to the appeal for succour which he reverently and with clasped hands makes to her. The earliest known European engraving, that of St. Christopher, is just a century later than this work. This interval, however, by no means represents the priority of wood-engraving in China, which probably may be reckoned by several hundreds of years. For just as the knowledge of printing seems to have lain dormant for centuries, and only to have come into general use under the influence of the literary renaissance which took place during the T'ang and Sung dynasties, so it is probable that the art of wood-engraving was stimulated by the revival of religious feeling which marked the advent to power of the Mongol conquerors of the empire.

It is interesting to note that, though the religious inspiration was derived from India, the style of drawing is, in a great majority of cases, distinctly Chinese. In the engraving already spoken of, the figures, except, perhaps, that of the goddess Kwanyin—the Avalôkitês'vara of Indian Buddhists—are drawn after native models, and both the god

of thunder and the goddess of lightning bear unmistakably the impress of Chinese ideas. The Kwanyin is represented with the emblems peculiar to her as the goddess of fecundity. In one hand she is holding a bottle from which she is pouring water on the thirsty earth, and in the other she holds a green sprig plucked from a shrub, to emblematise life and growth. Among the Chinese pictures exhibited in the King's Library in the British Museum is an exquisite drawing of this goddess, which for beauty of outline and miniature-like painting can hardly be surpassed. Kwanyin is the most popular deity in China. In all dangers and adversities Chinese men and women turn instinctively to her to deliver them from the impending evil and from the perplexities which threaten them. Does a storm overtake a ship at sea, do robbers attack wayfarers, does a fire break out at the domestic hearth, or does any other dangers assail, the imperilled persons invariably appeal to Kwanyin, whose ear is ever open to the cry of the distressed, and whose right arm is always strong to save.

Though in descriptive scenes, such as that portrayed in the engraving here spoken of, the design and execution are essentially Chinese, yet in portraits of Buddhist saints and sages the Indian style of art is almost invariably preserved by Chinese artists. In fig. 1 we have a specimen of this particular kind of drawing. The devotee depicted is represented as sitting cross-legged on a mat, after the manner of an Indian recluse, while the shape of his head and the style of his features are unmistakably non-Chinese. Buddhism is one of the heterodox beliefs which are inveighed against in the 7th Maxim of the great Emperor K'anghsi (1662-1722);

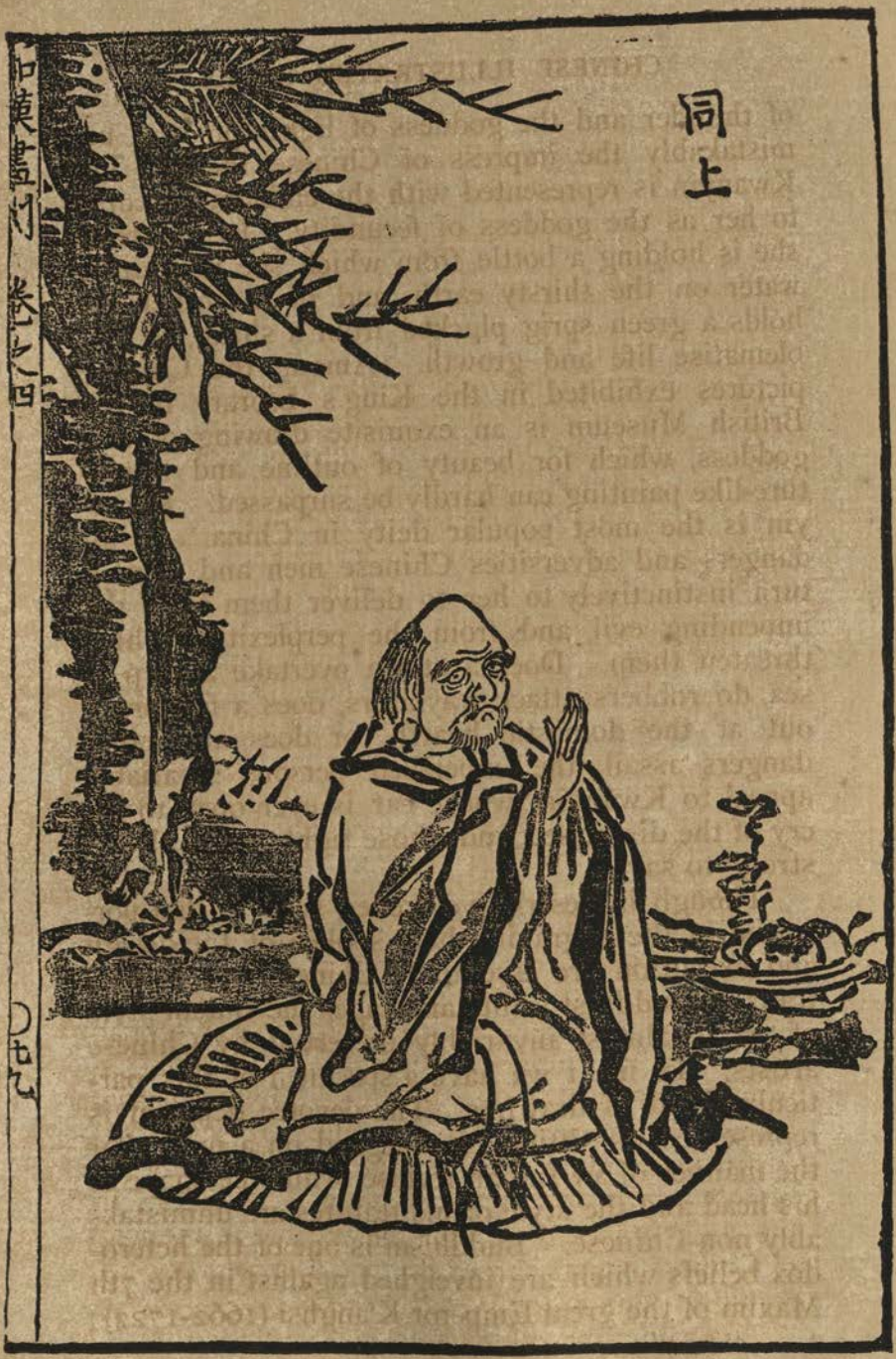


FIG. 1.—FROM THE *HO HAN HWA TSÄ*

but, notwithstanding this, it has not only held its own, but its foreign origin is stereotyped in the figures and portraits of Indian deities and in the many transliterations of Sanskrit names which occur in the Chinese ritual. In the Temple of Five Hundred Gods at Canton a statue of a deity who plainly bears the burnished livery of the Indian Sun stands among others which are painted to depict the sallow complexion and slanting eyes peculiar to the Chinese. In illuminated Chinese MSS. many of the Buddhist Bôdhisattvas and Arhats are painted to represent Indian notabilities, and are given the complexion and robes which are associated with the holy men of Hindostan. These coloured illuminations are commonly executed with great delicacy and skill, the colours being rich and carefully harmonised. One of the favourite conceits of artists who practise this branch of painting is to destroy the tissue between the veins of some large ovate leaf and on thin paper, which is pasted over it, to paint the object or scene which they wish to represent.

But to return to wood-engraving. One of the developments of the art, more especially as applied to Buddhistic subjects, is the class of engraving which represents the objects depicted by white outlines on a black ground. This device was probably suggested by rubbings taken from sculptures, and is more curious than attractive. Chinese drawing being mainly made up of outline, this particular treatment is more applicable to it than it could ever be to western art; but even so, it is inevitable that the slight traces of shadow observable in the works of Chinese artists should disappear in the very crude results of this process.

Occasionally other scenes are represented in

this manner. There is a well-known series of engravings depicting the various processes in the manufacture of silk and tea. These were originally executed in the reign of the Emperor K'anghsi (1662-1722), and in 1765 an edition was published with white outlines on a black ground. A copy of this edition is to be found in the Oriental Library in the British Museum, and is interesting on many accounts. The scenes depicted—some being interiors—are vigorously treated and are clearly shown, the figures stand out well, and the expressions on the features are clear and distinctive. The foliage of the trees and shrubs is admirably represented, and the light leaves of the bamboo are particularly successful.

Like the Japanese, the Chinese seldom publish single engravings, except in the way of placards, but collect in volumes either the works of single artists, or of several of the same or similar schools. The seventeenth century was not rich in artists of originality or of great skill, although some few are remembered in fame. The first four decades saw the decline and fall of the Ming dynasty. The times were out of joint, and the Manchus, who were destined to conquer the country, were preparing for their great enterprise. Riots and rebellions were breaking out on all sides, and armed bands were marching through the empire. Such periods are fatal to the arts and sciences. There are not many men who, like Archimedes, can forget the sound of arms in the pursuit of knowledge. As a rule, the arts flourish best when peace reigns, and Chinese painting is no exception to this rule. But with the restoration of law and order, artists again took up their brushes, and engravers set to work to reproduce and immortalise their works.

One of the earliest volumes produced at this period was the *Shu hwa t'ung chêng*, a collection of engravings of pictures by various artists. Some of these are particularly interesting as presenting prototypes of the sketches of Hokusai and other Japanese artists of the present century. Like these, they are sketchy but full of life and vigour. Every phase of human existence is shown in them. Infants in their mothers' arms; children at play; young men and maidens toying as they have ever done since the world began; old men toiling along the road, and leaning heavily on their staves, or taking their rest with the support of convenient rocks; old women hobbling about, or engaged in recounting bits of scandal,—all find expression on these fertile pages. Like all Chinese artists, these find difficulty in representing animal life. The horses and mules leave something to be desired. Their limbs are lacking in freedom and natural movement. This is a peculiarity which Chinese artists share with their Japanese brethren, with the exception of Hokusai, who alone was able to make his horses live and move and have their being in the realms of nature. The Chinese artist is fond, however, of river scenes, and represents boats with great fidelity. The boatman in our illustration (fig. 2) works his punting-pole with genuine energy. His body is bent in precisely the way in which nature demands that it should be, when the whole force of the limbs is brought into play. The two fishermen—the one on his way to the stream, and the other returning with his prey—are excellently rendered, and the old boat-woman is limned with marked truthfulness to nature.

Another work of about the same period is the *Shih chuh chai shu*, 'The Book from the Study of

the Ten Bamboos,' in which are collected engravings of celebrated artists. As the title seems to imply,

FIG. 2.—PART OF PAGE FROM THE *SHU HWA T'UNG CHÊN* EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

the artists mainly chose as their subjects bamboos and similar shrubs as well as flowers. In this

branch of art Chinese draughtsmen have always excelled, and in the volume under notice, the engravings from first to last show that the artists were in no whit behind the most talented of their countrymen. The bamboos are represented in every state of their ornamental existence. We see them bowing before the gale, or standing upright and motionless in the still summer noon. We see the first shoots appearing under the genial influence of the spring warmth, and we see the leaves withering and about to fall as the sap retreats at the first touch of frost in the autumn. Like all Chinese artists, the illustrators of the work are fond of depicting bare trees, generally pines, bent and crooked with age, and standing out against the sky-line from some mountain top or the summit of some cragged precipice; and as a contrast to this picture of sterile decrepitude, they show us on the next page a vigorous banana tree with its large leaves bending over the fruit, which they only partly conceal.

There is much that is conventional in all Chinese landscapes. The general arrangement is laid down with minute directions in works which contain the canons of the art, and it is only in the treatment that the artists are allowed a latitude for the exercise of their genius. In no detail is this conventionality more apparent than in the representation of water, and the artists of the Study of the Ten Bamboos follow faithfully the rules laid down, while they give to their drawing an individuality which is all their own. The curling waves of the much resounding sea are represented with a crispness which nature has never succeeded in shaping, but at the same time the artists have been able to convey to it a general impression of movement

and unrest. The smooth water of the stream, over which sailing boats glide swiftly and smoothly along, is a subject better fitted to the artist's pencil, and we can here trace, as in life, the gentle flow of the taciturn river, as it passes by its sedgy banks on its way to the ocean.

The conventionality, however, which trammels the artist in his representations of inanimate nature disappears, to a great extent, when he takes up his pencil to sketch the human form. Not that he studies for a moment the nude or the anatomy of the body. According to the Chinese ideas of decorum, the outline of the limbs should never be seen either in reality or on canvas. The tightly fitting garments worn by Europeans, both male and female, are regarded by them as indelicate, and a nude statue is in their eyes an abomination. But though their drawings suffer somewhat from the absence of this study of minutiæ, they often succeed admirably in representing with a few touches the attitudes which they wish to express. In this branch of the art the artists of the Study of the Ten Bamboos show themselves to be skilful experts. Their men—they seldom condescend to sketch women—are instinct with life and movement, though they are expressed by the merest outline sketches. It is impossible to mistake the action of the old poet who is inscribing on the bark of a tree an ode in praise of the mountain which looms before him in the distance, or that of the wayfarer who points with delight to the sun as it sinks behind the hills.

Houses, bridges, temples, and terraces are favourite subjects with the artists, who represent, in an artistic and picturesque manner, the upturned roofs of their native land, and the quaint but un-

necessarily high-pitched bridges, which in all Chinese landscapes are made to span streams narrow out of all proportion to the lofty structures above them.

At the beginning of this century the work last spoken of was published with coloured engravings, and it is not difficult to see, from the indifferent nature of the prints, that this development of the art was then in its infancy. The method of printing the colours is extremely crude. They are for the most part laid on in smudges, and blossoms of all hues are represented as being of one uniform tint without gradation or shadow. The rocks appear in monochromatic flatness, and shrubs are too often masses of unrelieved colour. The necessity of giving roundness to the limbs and stems of trees has directed, apparently, more attention than usual to these subjects, and with tolerable success. Bamboos also, which are coloured with India ink, are well and carefully tinted. The stems especially are good, and the tone of the colour, with well-marked shading at the joints, produces an excellent effect. Some plates representing bamboos show a black ground, while around the tree and its leaves a white space is left to throw into prominence the equally black illustration.

Chinese artists have never acquired the art of printing in colours, in which the Japanese so much excel, and in no specimens is this so conspicuous as in the illustrated placards which were issued in the two countries during the recent war. In the Chinese engravings are observable exactly the same faults as those existing in the work just spoken of. The colours are put on in smudges, and with little regard to the outline. In the King's Library of the British Museum is exhibited a Chinese

engraving, which represents a mythical visit of Japanese envoys to Li Hungchang and Liu Kunyih, and which aptly illustrates the above remarks. Li's yellow jacket is of unimpeachable yellow, but it is perfectly flat, and the colours show a marked tendency to spread beyond the limits assigned to them; and so it is with all the other colours in the print. In the same Case are shown some Japanese polychromatic prints of incidents which occurred during the campaign, and the contrast between them and the Chinese engraving is very marked. To say nothing of the drawing, which is infinitely superior to that of the Chinese artist, the colours are laid on carefully and effectively. The shadows are well shown, and there is a roundness about the figures and objects which shows that the current art in Japan is far in advance of that in the larger empire.

Among the Korean books at the British Museum are some few works of the sixteenth century, which are illustrated with engravings set into the text. As the Koreans borrowed their arts and civilisation from China, it is reasonable to suppose that the Chinese practised this kind of book-illustration at a still earlier period. Unfortunately, wars, fires, and rebellions have helped to obliterate many traces of them as of other old books, and at the present time the writer cannot speak from personal observation of any such before the close of the sixteenth century. In China, as elsewhere, there has been shown a tendency towards illustrating novels and plays rather than the weightier works in the literature. While canonical histories remain unillustrated, the commonest works of fiction are adorned with engravings which are abundant and feebly executed, in direct ratio to the valueless

nature of the letterpress. The earliest known of these prints show a great likeness to the engravings in our own block books. There is the same angularity of outline, and the same quaint drawing. The earliest specimen at hand is an edition of the famous Chinese novel, *San kwo chih*, 'The History of the three Kingdoms,' into which China was divided by factions in the third century. The work was written by a certain Lo Kwanchung in or about the fourteenth century, and has since enjoyed uninterrupted popularity. It describes the distracted condition of the empire, the battles which were fought, and the gallant deeds which were performed. It has a literary flavour, and so has received the patronage of the educated classes. Among the Chinese books of the British Museum is an edition of this work which was published in 1592. The woodcuts all stand at the head of the pages, and the descriptions are arranged on the two sides of the plates. As has been implied, the drawing is crude, although the human figures are in most cases lifelike and almost natural. As might be looked for in such a work, the scenes represented are mainly relating to wars and military episodes. We are shown men fighting on horseback and on foot, with every weapon used in ancient warfare. The custodian of the city wall fires at a retreating enemy with a bow and arrow; swords of every shape, and spears of all lengths, deal out death and destruction on all sides. The perspective is curiously out of drawing, and the proportions are ridiculously misplaced. A horseman is represented as having passed out of a city gate which would scarcely admit a good-sized dog; and men have no difficulty in overtopping city walls; while in the case of interiors, the floors are for the most

part on a steep slope, and the doors and windows, if subjected to the ordinary laws of gravitation, would inevitably come down with a crash. Notwithstanding these eccentricities, however, there is in most of the pictures a considerable amount of character in the figures portrayed. We see the alarm of men suddenly attacked, the righteous anger of a hero at the perfidy of a comrade, and the suspicion of a leader at the supposed treachery of a subordinate, all clearly depicted in the attitudes of personages concerned. The animals are more than usually defective in drawing. The horses are strange animals with inordinately long necks, and very wooden legs. From this it would appear probable that the artist was a southerner, and less accustomed to horses than the natives of the northern plains of China. The sea or river scenes are very quaint; the vessels are more like boxes than ships, and are propelled by absurdly small sails through water which curls up at their prows in perfectly regular and artificial-looking waves. Our illustration (fig. 3) represents a ruler giving instructions to a messenger.

The later editions of this work show considerably improved drawing. Scenes such as executions, of which we give an example in fig. 4, and combats have an actuality which is wanting in the earlier issues, and even vessels show some resemblance to sea-going ships. But the same arrangement is followed by which the illustrations are placed at the head of each page. This is plainly an inconvenient system. It disarranges the type and limits the space at the disposal of the artists. This became, at a later period, so apparent, that in recent novels the more convenient system was adopted of placing all the illustrations after the

FIG. 3.—FROM AN EDITION OF THE *SAN KWO CHIH*, 1592

Fig. 4.—From an edition of the *San kwo chih*
(seventeenth century)

introductory matter and before the beginning of the text. A good specimen of the early adoption of this practice is found in the edition of the *Hung lo mêng*, 'The Dream of the Red Chamber,' which was published in 1811. In this work the engravings show very little advance beyond the skill displayed in the *San kwo chih*, but the artist, having in each case a whole page in which to arrange his figures and scenery, has been able to give a better general effect to his ideas. The landscapes are decidedly conventional. The mountains are represented as a succession of sharp peaks, and the trees which adorn them look more like masts of square-rigged ships when the sails are furled than anything else. Trees in the foreground, on which especial attention has been lavished, are more truthful to nature, and certain broad-leaved shrubs, such as the banana, are skilfully drawn. The figures, especially the female figures, are strangely shaped, and for the most part their poses are like those common to mediæval figures of saints. The heads are at an obtuse angle to the bodies, and the feet are at lateral right angles to the legs to which they belong. The artist has, however, in some instances managed to impart expression to the characters, but it must be admitted that the illustrations are more curious and interesting than beautiful.

It is doubtful whether, in the case of plays, the illustrations were ever placed at the head of the page. Certainly in the majority of instances the plates were arranged, as in the case of the later novels, at the beginning of the volume. The drama entitled *Yü lien huan ch'uan*, published in 1805, may be accepted as a typical specimen of this class of literature. The engravings are imperfectly executed, but, notwithstanding this, the artist has been

well able to describe the scenes which he wished to express. Love is the subject of the play, and a priest, as is usual in Chinese fiction, is the villain of the plot. The initial stage of a very marked flirtation begins by the villain secreting himself in the heroine's garden, and presenting himself before the lady as she indites poetry at the window of her boudoir. The artist has chosen for his picture (fig. 5) the moment when the stealthy priest is creeping round the corner of the house and gazing for the first time on the lady whose surprise at the sudden appearance of the intruder is well rendered by her attitude. Gardens are the common scenes of clandestine love-making in the East, and in this play another young man, who gazes over the garden wall at the object of his admiration preparatory to springing over the obstacle, is certainly cleverly depicted. But the artist shows us that such illicit interviews do not meet with the approval of the parents of the indiscreet ones, and, in one case, we are introduced to a study where a stern father is reproving with admonitory gesture the practice of scaling garden walls, and, in another, where a matron is taking her daughter to task for having played the Juliet to an impulsive Romeo. The last engraving in the volume is the conventional illustration of a dream. We are shown a man lying asleep on a couch, while from his head issues forth, as it were, a cloud which widens out and contains the scene which the dreamer sees in his slumbers. In European mediæval illuminations one occasionally finds a death-bed represented in which either angels or devils are carrying off the soul of the departed, the scene being grouped in what appears to be an emanation from the dead man's lips. This is exactly the device adopted by Chinese artists, as in

FIG. 5.—FROM THE *YÜ LIEN HUAN CH'UAN*, 1805

this case, to enable them to express the events in a dream.

The advantage of illustrations in works on topography has long been recognised by the Chinese, and, as a rule, works on this subject are largely supplemented by the engraver's art. A specimen of this branch of literature is furnished by a volume of poems by the Emperor K'anghsi entitled *Yü chih pi shu shan*, 'Imperial Poems on the Mountains of Summer Retreat,' which was published in 1711. This emperor, who was a vigorous ruler and fond of sport, was in the habit of making expeditions into Mongolia in pursuit of deer, pheasants, and such like game. Among other places he visited Jêho—commonly written Jehol—and, finding the district agreeable to his taste, he enclosed a certain stretch of mountain area and built a palace upon it. Prose being quite inadequate to express his admiration for his new surroundings, he resorted to poetry, in which he extolled with considerable rapture the scenes which he loved so well. To enhance the value of the work, artists were employed to depict its beauties, and the volume was issued, accompanied by a series of double page illustrations, interspersed with the text. Being an imperial publication, it is natural to suppose that the engravings were the best procurable at the time. This does not say much for the state of the art of landscape drawing in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The usual canons of Chinese art are carefully observed, but there is a stiffness about the features of the landscapes and a sameness about the principal objects which interfere with the perfect picturesqueness of the scenes. It is impossible, however, to divest them of all beauty, and K'anghsi showed a keen appreciation of what is pleasing to the eye

when he chose Jêho as his Balmoral. It is obvious, from the illustrations and his allusions in the text, that the best masters of landscape gardening were employed to lay out the grounds. Chinese landscape gardeners have always been famous for their skill, and certainly those who were responsible for the gratification of their imperial master's taste were proficients in the art. The main buildings, which are represented as being built in courtyards after the usual Chinese manner, stand in the neighbourhood of a vast lake which is backed by the eternal hills. As was the case with the summer palace near Peking, isolated pavilions and studies are dotted about in every coign of vantage, and are led up to by raised pathways over shallow lakes, with high bridges artistically arranged to give variety to the scene. Water is an essential adjunct to a Chinese landscape, and at Jêho pavilions stand on the points of peninsulas, or on islands embosomed in trees and surrounded by water lilies and lotus beds. Chinamen seldom built dwelling-houses on hills, on the principle that the miasma which rises from the plains rests on the higher grounds and brings malaria in its train, and it is only, therefore, in the case of summer houses that they choose mountain tops as their sites. Several so situated are represented in these engravings, and are shown with winding steps of rough rock leading up to them from the water below.

The ordinary topographical works, which are commonly published with the imperial sanction, are mostly illustrated, though in a less pretentious manner than K'anghsi's work mentioned above. The illustrations are, as a rule, at the beginning of the work, and consist of ground plans of the principal cities of the district. Sometimes when the

neighbourhood contains scenes of historic beauty, as in the case of Hangchow or Soochow, landscapes

FIG. 6.—FROM THE *HWANG CH'ING CHIH KUNG T'U*, 1751

are introduced which often justify the encomiums lavished upon them. But for the most part they

consist of maps of the country and ground plans of the principal cities in which the upturned roofs of the buildings over the city gates and of the official residences within the walls are conspicuous, while the dwellings of the people are left altogether unindicated. The maps in these works are useful, but, as is the case with all Chinese attempts at cartography, the proportions are imperfectly preserved, and the lie of the rivers and mountains leaves much to be desired in the way of accuracy. Unlike early European cartographers the Chinese mapmakers carefully eschew all emblematic devices in connection with their plans. They belong to a race which is far too prosaic to indulge in flights of fancy when engaged in practical work. In ethnographical works Chinese artists are often successful, and the accompanying illustration (fig. 6) represents a graceful and descriptive engraving from a work on the nations tributary to the Middle Kingdom.

As a rule, works on the arts are largely illustrated to enforce the lessons conveyed in the texts. The late war with Japan has displayed such lamentable weakness on the part of the Chinese in the art of war, that one would scarcely expect to find that there exists a literature on the subject. There does, however, and great pains have been taken copiously to illustrate the principal books upon it. One of the standard works is the *Wu pei chih*, written by Mao Yueni in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is possible that at the time of publication the drill and kind of warlike implements advocated by the author may have been up to date, but at present, though they still represent the orthodox system of fighting, they appear childish. The contortions of the spearmen and antics of the swordsmen are simply ridiculous, and reflect the

kind of military manœuvres which delight the hearts of such men as the lately twice-degraded Viceroy of Sze-ch'uan, Liu Pingch'ang, who recently memorialised the throne on the skill and proficiency of the native troops in his province, with whom bows and arrows and gingalls are the most effective weapons. The warlike machines which Mao recommends are on a par with the drill of the men. Fire chariots which should be propelled into an advancing hostile force are much admired, and boxes on wheels from which arrows project are also commended. The watch-towers, as well as towers of defence on city walls, are of the most primitive description; while, to crown all, a circular fan is highly spoken of which, when turned rapidly with a handle, is intended to throw dust and gravel in the eyes of the enemy. Careful directions are also given for making tripod spikes which, when thrown on the ground, are supposed to pierce the feet of the enemy. These last were largely used by the Chinese on the ground over which our men advanced to the attack on the Taku Forts in 1859. As the ground was soft and the men's boots were strong they failed to cause the slightest inconvenience, and served only when picked up to preserve the memory of a disastrous day. Ridiculous as these appliances appear, they are really no more absurd than the proposal made during the late war by a man in authority, that a deep trench should be dug along the coast-line, so that when the Japanese landed they might fall into it and might then be easily destroyed.

Chinese artists excel particularly in drawing isolated objects. A leaf, a small insect, the stem of a tree, are the kind of motives which are congenial to their art, and more especially is this the case with

manufactured articles. In no country in the world probably are there richer collections of antiquities than in China. In the houses of the wealthy classes are often to be seen collections of vases, bronzes, and coins which would excite the envy of the most successful collector in Europe. In the palace, as it is natural to expect, the choicest specimens of the most ancient wares are to be found, and a magnificent work, entitled *Se Ch'ing ku chien* (1749-50), represents in outline the beauty of the objects there collected in a series of exquisite woodcuts, and describes in detail their dimensions and antiquity. The work, which is divided into two sections, deals respectively with objects of art in metals and coins, and is a monument worthy of so magnificent a collection. For beauty of drawing and delicacy of execution it has few equals in either China or Japan. The *Po ku t'u* of Wang Fu (1588) is another illustrated catalogue of antiquities, and in its pages we have descriptions of pottery and bronze curiosities from the period of the Shang dynasty (B.C. 1766-1122) to comparatively modern times. The illustrations, though good, are not as fine as those in the *Se Ch'ing ku chien*, but they are faithful reproductions of the objects, and the work is one which is dear in the eyes of every native collector.

Certain encyclopædias—and notably the immense encyclopædia compiled by order of the Emperor K'anghsi (1726), which fills 5020 native volumes—rank high among the illustrated books of China. In K'anghsi's great compilation, the Astronomical, Topographical, Ethnographical, and Natural History sections are largely illustrated, and some of the engravings are of great beauty. In one of the cases in the King's Library of the British Museum

an illustration in a volume of this work is shown. It represents a stork (fig. 7) standing in a marshy pool, surrounded by reeds, and swallowing a fish

FIG. 7.—FROM A CHINESE ENCYCLOPÆDIA

which it has just secured. The drawing is excellent, and the skill of the engraver is past all praise. It is in engravings of this sort of subject that Chinese

as well as Japanese artists excel, and the student will turn with pleasure from the illustrations in other parts of the work to those which represent birds and fishes. As printers of engravings Chinese workmen have fallen behind their Japanese *confrères* in the art of producing polychromatic woodcuts, and in imparting to the print that freehand style which makes it at times difficult to distinguish it from the original drawing of the artist. The success of an engraving depends largely in China, as in London, on the skill of the printer, and it is not too much to say that the finest etcher or engraver on wood may see his labour wasted and his fame imperilled by the work of an unskilful printer. The Japanese undoubtedly excel in the art of printing from blocks, but in delicacy of work and in fineness of execution, the Chinese may fairly be said to equal, in their best productions, the efforts of their Eastern neighbours.

ROBERT K. DOUGLAS.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

F some few pursuits, both literary and commercial, it is not too much to say that their future is assured, and that unless and until our civilisation is submerged beneath some wave of barbaric invasion their interest and importance can only increase. The pioneers, indeed, in these lines are often without honour, and can only hope for posthumous fame; but in the fulness of time there surely come the progressive organisation, and subdivision of labour, and co-operative effort which are signs of the successful development of an adult art or science. Of these hopeful fields of work Bibliography is one. The interest in books is of slow growth in a community; the interest in old books is slower still; while the scientific study of books in themselves, as distinguished from the information contained in them, comes last of all. But, in average times of peace in a civilised state, the development of all these is only a question of time. Panzer and Hain were pioneers who reached a higher standard both of method and work than was demanded from them by their contemporaries, and both are now at last receiving their full meed of recognition and honour. So when the idea of the Bibliographical Society was mooted, the only question in some minds was, whether the time had come in England when it was desirable to subdivide the area covered by the meetings and discussions of the Library Association, or whether

the new Society, like the short-lived Index Society, was a little premature and rather too indefinite in its scope. The warm enthusiasm of a small group of persons answered these questions, and supplied also the one other requisite of a Society, without which an open field and an attractive subject are useless,—personal energy. *Solutum est ambulando.* It has been thought that *Bibliographica* would be incomplete without some notice of a Society dealing with the same general subject as itself, but destined, we may confidently hope, to a far longer career than the strictly limited tenure of life held by this magazine.

The first printed document in the history of the Bibliographical Society, so far as the present writer knows—who by the way must disclaim any 'inspiration' or official connection with the Society, except as a humble member of it—is dated May 20, 1892, and is a paper signed by the founder, Dr. Copinger, in which he asks for signatures to a proposed circular suggesting the formation of such an association, and mentions the success of a Scottish society already founded with similar aims. The preliminaries followed rapidly. The Society was formed by resolutions passed at a public meeting in the rooms of the Library Association on July 15, 1892, and the first General Meeting was held on October 24 in the same year, at which a definite Constitution, Rules, and Programme were adopted. The material prosperity of the Society did not long remain in doubt; for 1892-93 there were 8 life-members and 163 annual subscribers, for 1893-94, and for the present year, the full complement of 300 members to which the roll of the Society was restricted by resolution in May 1894. In three years it has also produced over 600 quarto

pages of Translations and Papers, and 400 pages of separate monographs, as well as thirteen numbers of a monthly News Sheet. It is abundantly clear therefore that the Society has not only found a place for itself in literature, but has also been started with energy and success. Statistics, however, are proverbially insufficient, and readers of *Bibliographica* will probably wish to have some account of the more important papers read and work done, as gauged by a few common-sense tests. It is fair to ask, for instance, how far the papers are of real use to bibliographical students of to-day (for it is only too easy to write visionary papers of what might be under other circumstances of time and place), what sum of actual bibliographical results they present to us, and again (and this is far from being an anticlimax), how much of the revenue of the Society is expended on administrative machinery and how much on printing and producing.

Dr. Copinger's inaugural address was concise and to the point, consisting largely of certain definite schemes, such as a general catalogue of English literature, and a supplement to Hain's list of fifteenth-century books. He would probably admit that his division of Bibliography into

1. GENERAL.—(*a*) Intellectual or Bibliology,
(*b*) Material;

2. SPECIAL.—(*a*) Local (books about places, and books printed at particular places),
(*b*) Personal (books of particular presses, and books connected with particular persons),
(*c*) Subject (*e.g.* of Bibles, Shorthand, etc.),

is decidedly open to criticism. But even thus early we are provided with a careful list of books from

which the suggested supplement to Hain might be constructed. Mr. H. B. Wheatley contributed a paper on the general catalogue mentioned above, and again we are presented with a working bibliography (in this case of John Evelyn and his writings), though it must be confessed that there is no present prospect of such a catalogue being either prepared or printed, and that it will be the duty of the current generation to labour at particular lists, using the British Museum printed catalogue as a basis, rather than to indulge in plans which they will not themselves see realised, and which our successors will be much better able to prepare.

The next paper which deserves special mention is, when taken in connection with one of the monographs, a type of the best work that can be done. In the paper Mr. Ashbee gives 'rough notes,' as they are modestly called, on the illustrations which accompany printed editions of *Don Quixote*, and has followed it up by a laborious and interesting monograph on the subject, in which not only editions of the work but also of continuations, and of dramas based on it, and portraits of Cervantes himself, are treated from the point of view of the engravings. The imperfect registration of English books, both in the past and under the present Copyright Act, is treated by Mr. Tedder, who indicates the sources from which the official records can be, however inadequately, supplemented. It is unfortunate that the recommendations he makes for future registration require a body of public opinion to back them which has yet to be formed, and without which we shall probably never get Parliament to act. The two last papers of the volume are on contemporary printing and its tendencies, and will be landmarks in the future when the recent revival of artistic

printing and book-production becomes a subject of curious inquiry. 'The Ideal Book' is by Mr. William Morris, the leader of the movement, and 'the Printing of Modern Books' by Mr. C. T. Jacobi.

In a first volume, such as we have been considering, a society has rather to take what is ready and to hand, than to hope that its aims and methods can at once be fairly and evenly represented. It is satisfactory, therefore, to see that in the second year (besides a paper on the early Augsburg printers by Mr. S. J. Aldrich) there appeared two of those close studies of particular presses which, in the hands of bibliographers like Henry Bradshaw and Mr. E. Gordon Duff, lead through thoroughly scientific processes to fruitful results. These two monographs—Mr. G. R. Redgrave's on *Erhard Ratdolt and his work at Venice* and Mr. R. G. C. Proctor's on *Jan van Doesborch* of Antwerp—are on an elaborate scale, and are full, accurate, and satisfactory. We may perhaps regret that the Society has not yet seen its way to recommend a standard form of description, admitting of modification according to circumstances in extent, but not in form. As it is, these two works differ considerably in arrangement and style, where uniformity would be a real help to those who consult them. Both are illustrated in a style which even ten years ago would hardly have been possible.

To the *Transactions* of this year Mr. Charles Welch contributed a scheme of classification for London literature under ninety-nine heads, arranged on a decimal system on the model of Melvil Dewey's. This application of the system appears to be new, and deserves attention, although London is so entirely unique a place that it is difficult to apply to

other towns what is constructed for itself. Subjoined to the paper is a working list of the chief printed books in each of the ninety-nine sections.

The presidential address of Dr. Copinger, on December 17, 1894, is of value as showing the rapid progress of his scheme of a supplement to Hain, and the appendix (*Incunabula Virgiliana*) in effect fills up one of the most glaring gaps in that work, Hain, or rather his posthumous editor, having entirely omitted to notice any edition of Virgil whatever! An immense amount of hard and good work has been expended on the list, which is of first-rate utility.

The first part of the third volume (January-June 1895), which has just been issued, contains a paper of exactly the kind which the Society should especially study to elicit. Mr. Hyett has been for years engaged on a bibliography of Gloucestershire, and has had to solve for himself and with his colleague the numberless difficulties which in practice occur in local bibliographies: such as the limits of description in the case of fly-sheets and minor literature, the claim of authors born in the county to a notice, the proper extent of subdivision of places, the treatment of local sermons, of maps, and the like. It is of real value to know his judgment on such points, and to compare it with Mr. Weaver's *Bibliotheca Dorsetiensis* and Mr. Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*. Mr. E. F. Strange's recent book on Alphabets, which establishes his position as an authority on the technique of the subject, gives interest to his article on Writing-books of the sixteenth century, accompanied as it is by a considerable bibliography of foreign as well as English specimens. Two articles again deal with special presses—the Lutheran Press at Wittenberg (Mr.

G. F. Barwick) and illustrations used at Oppenheim (Mr. G. R. Redgrave)—both being rather suggestive essays than elaborate bibliographical lists, though Mr. Redgrave's derives especial interest from his proof that some of the ornaments used by his favourite Erhard Ratdolt at Venice served as models to Köbel at Oppenheim. The last article in the part —Mr. Talbot Reed's list of books on printers and printing—has a melancholy interest. No one who knew the author personally can fail to bear testimony to the loss sustained by his death, while the Society has been deprived of a warm-hearted and enthusiastic secretary. The value of the list consists rather in its arrangement by places than in its originality or length, but it is brought up to date and so is valuable as a supplement to Petzholdt and Vallée and the Caxton Celebration Catalogue. Last, but perhaps highest of all in the scale of importance, is Part I. of the projected Hand Lists of English Printers, 1501-56, containing Mr. E. G. Duff's list of books by Wynkyn de Worde, Julian Notary, the two Faques, and John Skot. It is short and, as the author would say, tentative, but a great advance on anything hitherto made accessible, while the engravings of each printer's devices, with their slow progressive deterioration, will solve many a problem of undated books.

Enough has perhaps already been written to show that the Society comes well out of the tests of usefulness and actual bibliographical production. Space has not allowed of a mention of every paper, but it is the exception for any one of them to be without a list of some solid kind, and the visionary papers—as they may be called—have been kept within limits. It remains to note by what channels the money received pours out of the Treasurer's

coffers. Two balance-sheets are available, for 1892-93 and for 1894. These show that, leaving on one side life-subscriptions, all of which have been invested, in the first year about £170 was received and £145 spent, of which £105 was for printing; in the second, when the Society was much larger, about £345 was received, while the charges incurred amounted to a little over £300, of which all but £60 was for printing. For a Society which is not purely literary, but has to pay rent for rooms in which to hold meetings, and to arrange the meetings and papers for them, this is a quite satisfactory proportion.

One or two points suggest themselves, after this short survey, and they are put forward only as individual opinion. It is probably a mistake to limit the Society to 300 members, or to any definite number whatever. It is done 'because it became necessary for the Council to know exactly what funds could be relied on, in order that the publications and issues might take a determinate form.' Surely by this policy very little is gained, and much may be lost. Apart from definite secession on the part of members, the minimum income of a year can be very well estimated, and any accession of income from subscriptions beyond that will be a godsend for which one cannot be too thankful. The argument used would be sound if it were possible to fix a *minimum* number of members, but not otherwise. To put it clearly, if ten persons offer themselves as members and are rejected by this rule, what is gained by their rejection? The loss is ten guineas, which would have increased the Society's spending powers, and if they did slightly upset the calculations of expenditure, it would be in a very gratifying and satisfactory way. A real reason for this

limitation might be urged, namely, that it is undesirable to make the volumes too common; but this objection may be met, as it well can be met, when the Society thinks fit to urge it.

Again, a personal opinion may be expressed, that where the work to be done is so urgent and so endless, and, as in this field, is day by day increasing, it is of great importance that the utmost output should be reached which the finances will allow. The paper and printing should be the least expensive that can be regarded as satisfactory, and wide margins and large paper, for ordinary issue to ordinary members, might be eschewed. The illustrations only should be of the best, because no facsimile can be too like the original. Bibliographers take literature seriously, and study utility first and decorative appearance afterwards. It is ungracious to be discontented with such beautiful volumes as the three illustrated quarto monographs which have been characterised above: and in cases where, as with Mr. Ashbee's *Don Quixote*, the Society has been treated with great liberality by the author, wide margins and such luxuries may be gratefully welcomed. But a society with such large aims as the Bibliographical might well consider whether it should not imitate the British Museum in the severity and plainness of its style of issue.

Lastly, in view of the difficulty inevitably felt in a Society whose members are scattered over the British Isles, and even over the world, of obtaining representative meetings month by month, would it be possible to strengthen the hands of writers of the monthly papers by organising previous inquiries on points connected with the subject on hand: so that absent members might contribute their personal experience and discuss and vote as it were by

proxy? The member responsible for the evening would in this case draw up a few questions calculated to elicit opinion on debatable points, circulate them through the *News Sheet* in time to obtain answers before the paper is read, and thus strengthen or reform his previously conceived opinions. On such questions as those raised by Mr. Hyett about county bibliography, many country members who have essayed the subject would write their opinions, and even if the results were only tabulated as statistics, they would be valuable. The experiment might, at least, be worth trying.

This short notice will perhaps suffice to show readers of *Bibliographica* that a Society with kindred aims is doing thoroughly useful work on their own subject. What has been said in its favour will probably command the assent of all who are fortunate enough to possess its publication, while the rather outspoken criticisms which have also been made must be only taken for what they are intrinsically worth.

FALCONER MADAN.

NOTICES

Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum. By W. A. COPINGER. Part I. Corrections and additional collations. (*Sotheran.*)

IN the scanty space which can be spared for noticing current bibliographical literature we have hitherto preferred to notice foreign books rather than English, and those which needed only a few words of recommendation rather than works where the critic's task is more serious and less pleasant. If we make an exception in the case of this first instalment of the new *Supplement to Hain* it is assuredly out of no ill-will to Dr. Copinger, and we are particularly glad that in the same number which contains this notice justice has been done, by the pen of Mr. Madan, to his energy in founding the Bibliographical Society and to his general devotion to the subjects which our own readers have at heart. But Dr. Copinger's very position as, until a few days ago, the President of an important society, and the high price at which the book is issued, involve the danger that his work may be accepted abroad as representative of the best which English scholarship can produce, and we desire to show, with all the courtesy at our command, that it does not possess this character.

At the outset it is fair to give prominence to the fact that Dr. Copinger's book is a labour of love. We regard it as mainly mischievous, a real hindrance to progress, but we recognise gladly that Dr. Copinger's mistake is the mistake of enthusiasm for his subject, the importance of which he so overrates that, amid all the other calls upon his time, he

endeavours to help it forward at an impossible speed. Now the section of bibliography which deals with *incunabula* is not really an important subject. Those who love it most will admit, if they are frank, that it is only a pleasant playground. We have gone on with our agreeable studies for a good many years without a supplement to Hain. There would have been no great harm if we had had to wait another ten years for it. The one essential point was that, when the Supplement came, it should be one which should stand the tests which the *Repertorium* itself has stood; not a book, imperfect in design and execution, the existence of which can only serve as a serious stumbling-block in the way of anything better.

We have said that the work is faulty in design. The great feature in the *Repertorium* are the titles, in which an asterisk denotes that the book had been personally collated by Hain himself. His own list of *Corrigenda* and, we willingly add, the many additional errors which Dr. Copinger points out, sufficiently prove that Hain himself was liable to error; but the effect of his personal guarantee has been enormous, and it is only by an extension of this system that any advance can be made. Now, as far as we can discover, Dr. Copinger gives no personal guarantee whatever. To every entry he appends a list of authorities, and we are told that 'the references are given in the order in which information given is acquired, the main reference being first'; but it seems probable that in some cases he has inspected the book himself, and introduced his own collation, in other cases he seems to have made up his entry from two different sources, and it is thus impossible to tell with certainty with what authority we are dealing. In the second

place, the value of the authorities quoted differs enormously, ranging from the excellent work of Holtrop and Campbell down to the 'dealer's catalogues' of such firms as Rosenthal, Cohn, Olschki, and Hoepli. The middle space between these two poles is mainly occupied by the catalogues of the *incunabula* in various French libraries (in which, again, the standard attained by the different cataloguers varies very considerably), and by the Catalogue, printed and unprinted, of the British Museum. As to this last, it is matter of common knowledge that, as far as *incunabula*, on their typographical side, are concerned, the value of its entries is very fluctuating. If our memory serve us, there was no special mention of *incunabula*, as such, in the famous 'Ninety-one Rules' drawn up by Panizzi for the New Catalogue in 1839. The interest in them in England, which had been so keen twenty or thirty years earlier, had died out, and there were few signs of its revival until the publication of Mr. Blades' great work on Caxton in 1861. There is thus, to borrow a term from theology, no bibliographical 'intention' about the early entries of *incunabula* in the Museum Catalogue, the descriptions given being designed solely to show the contents of the books for the use of readers. As the interest in the history of printing has revived, it has left its mark on the Catalogue in a steady increase in the fulness of the bibliographical notes. But when in 1880 the task of printing this enormous catalogue was undertaken by the Museum, amid a chorus of predictions that, like the previous attempt of 1841, it would never reach beyond letter 'A,' to have held back the earlier volumes for the insertion of bibliographical minutiæ might have wrecked the whole scheme

(now nearly carried to completion); and the entries in these early volumes remain, for the most part, literary descriptions, neither possessing, nor intended to possess, any reference to typography. Yet of these mere literary descriptions Dr. Copinger has made a free use, and it is, to a considerable extent, with the help of these and the catalogues of various firms of dealers, that the *Repertorium Bibliographicum* of Hain has been corrected and supplemented.

The necessary effect of the vast variety of sources from which the descriptions and collations which make up this bulky volume have been drawn is a glaring absence of uniformity. Thus in some cases the division of lines is marked, in others not; in some the varying uses of 'v' and 'u' are accurately preserved, in others they are printed according to modern fashion; some entries reproduce capitals, others not, etc., etc. Even the method of recording signatures is not uniform. These drawbacks, inherent in Dr. Copinger's plan, are seriously augmented by the absence of the constant vigilance necessary to eliminate obvious errors in transcription and to keep down the inevitable percentage of misprints. This is a statement which we are bound to prove, and we will do so, not by raking together errors, from different parts of the book, but by the only honest method of criticism, that is by sample, on the principle of *ex pede Herculem*. The following examples, therefore, are all culled from the five pages (426-430) which deal with editions of the works of Savonarola, with some of which we happen to be familiar, and which we have chosen for that reason.

At the outset we may remark that two excellent lists of Savonarola *incunabula* have long been in

existence, one by Audin, the other in the *Serapeum* for Sept. 15, 1842, and that Dr. Copinger ignores them both. It must also be remembered that we have only been able to examine about half of the books Dr. Copinger deals with, and that if many of our corrections are trivial they are precisely of the same class as the majority of those which his book is intended to supply to Hain.

14334. 54 ff, not 53. l. 6, longo should be lungo; l. 9, & omitted before || nel. l. 10, 11, no points before dates.

*14345. Hain says 34-36 ll. Dr. Copinger says 35. But several pages (*e.g.* b 3 verso and c 4 recto) have 34 only, and one at least has 37.

14339. l. 5 [ ] EAMBVLANTI should be dEAMBVLANTI; l. 7, colon omitted after meditanti.

14350. sheet d has 4 leaves, not 6.

14355. in l. 3 for religiosi [sic], where the sic is meaningless, read ereligiosi [sic].

14368. l. 6, di should be de; l. 7, de should be di.

14378. l. 7, for F 36^{b} read F 34^{b}.

14390. l. 1, dellarte should be del arte; l. 5, for second || read ii; l. 6, raccolta should be racolta.

14391. l. 6, for first || read ii; a x has dropped out of the date; l. 9, for predicana read predicaua; l. 11, lbūo should be lhūo.

14412. l. 1, for d' read vt. Note that in this entry, according to the earlier practice at the British Museum, v and u are printed according to modern usage, but in 14333 Dr. Copinger corrects Hain's Beniventus to Beniuentus.

14435. l. 1, Hieronymus should be Hieronymo; l. 7, familiares should be familiare.

14445. l. 6, uno should be una; la Comunione should be lacomunione.

14450. l. 14, we have not seen the book but uiva is incredible.

14451. l. 3, figlusli should be figluoli; l. 4, psone should be ꝑsone; l. 5, ꝑ seguitate should be ꝑseguitate and la verita should be lauerita; l. 10, al tempo should be altempo; l. 16, patribus should be fratribus; l. 26, tueti should be tucti.

The above errata deal with fourteen out of the fifteen entries on these five pages which we have been able to test; the fifteenth entry, we are glad

to be able to say, was correct. We do not underrate the difficulties of proof reading. An unlucky accident, for which we take the blame to ourselves, over Mr. Martineau's proofs in our last number, has rendered necessary a slip of errata and taught us humility. But, coming on the top of the shortcomings essential to Dr. Copinger's plan, such a percentage of errors as we have here quoted, whether left uncorrected from other works or introduced afresh, seems to us to destroy the value of Dr. Copinger's book. Undoubtedly, to those who know how to use it, it may be temporarily useful, but this temporary utility is paid for with the heavy price of an immense diminution in the probability of getting a really trustworthy work. Before its publication everything looked hopeful, and there was a strong probability that in five years' time, by co-operation between the bibliographers of different countries, a new *Hain* might be produced, every title in which could be marked as the result of personal collation. But there is little likelihood that a second work of this size and cost can find a publisher for many years to come, and we cannot but deeply regret that Dr. Copinger should have so hastily occupied the ground with a mere compilation.

Index Biblio-Iconographique. Par PIERRE DAUZE. (*Paris*, 24 Boulevard Poissonière.)

It is pleasant to resume with M. Dauze's book our usual practice of filling any page we have to spare at the end of a number with a notice of the most recent work which seems to deserve the attention of our readers. Book-prices do not in themselves form an important branch of bibliography, but we are most of us commercial enough to take

an interest in anything which deals with money values, and, independently of this, it is well that a permanent record should be kept of every book which passes through the auction-rooms of France, as of England, while if space allowed it would be easy to ground on this work by M. Dauze and the *Book-Prices Current* of Mr. Slater an interesting comparison between the aims, methods and pecuniary recklessness of the book-buyers of the two countries. As regards the arrangement followed in the two works, M. Dauze, who had the advantage of Mr. Slater's experience to profit by, has certainly been wise in making the chief feature in his book an Index in the alphabetical order of authors' names; information as to the amounts realised in different sales, etc., being given in the weekly or fortnightly numbers of his *Revue*. In this way the prices and condition of all the different copies of any given work or edition are brought together, and may be compared at a glance. The French sales of the year here chronicled, 1894, were of exceptional importance, those of Benedetto Maglione (first part), the Comte de Lignerolles (three parts) and Ricardo Heredia (fourth part) bringing into the market a great number of early books, while the modern French collections were represented by the sale of part of M. Octave Uzanne's library. Altogether M. Dauze has had to chronicle no less than 11,000 prices which reach or exceed his minimum of 20 francs, and as the majority of these differ from those recorded by Mr. Slater, and where the books are the same there are interesting variations in price, we think we are doing English and American collectors a service by drawing their attention to his work. We are glad to hear that a second volume is already in progress, and that,

while keeping, in the case of ordinary works, to his rule only to notice books which fetch at least twenty francs, M. Dauze intends to include in his *Index* all *incunabula* offered for sale, irrespective of the price they may fetch. As his bibliographical indications, though necessarily brief, have all the appearance of being correct as far as they go, this extension of his scheme will form a very useful record.

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